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DECEMBER, 1894.

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1894.

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THE SOCIETY

OF

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VOL. XVI. TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION.

First Meeting, November 7th, 1893.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1893-94.

First Meeting, 7th November, 1893.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President, in the chair.

The President referred to the severe loss the Society had recently suffered by the death of Dr. C. Leemans and Professor E. L. Lushington, D.C.L., LL.D., etc.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From Sir H. H. Howorth, K.C.M.G., etc.:—Inscriptiones Palaeopersicae Achaemenidarum, etc. By Dr. Cajetanus Kossowiez. Petropoli. 8vo. 1872.

From the Author:—Alfred B. Moldenke. Babylonian Contract Tablets in the Metropolitan Museum of Art [New York, U.S.A.]. 8vo. New York. 1893.

From the Author:—Charles E. Moldenke, A.M., Ph.D. The Tale of the Two Brothers, a Fairy Tale of Ancient Egypt, with hieroglyphic transcription and translation. New York. 8vo. 1893.

I

[No. cxvII.]

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Degli Hittîm o Hethei e delle loro migrazioni. (*Continuation*) Chap. III, IV. 8vo. 1893.

From the Author:—Prof. C. P. Tiele. Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid tot op Alexander den Groote. Erste Deel. Amsterdam. 8vo. 1893.

From the Author:—Robert Brown, Junr., F.S.A. The Celestial Equator of Aratos. 8vo. London. 1893.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 5th December, 1893:—

Charles E. Allnutt, 159, Evering Road, Stoke Newington, N. William Edwin Blundell, 83, Stapleton Hall Road, Stroud Green, N.

W. St. Chad Boscawen, 29, Albert Square, Clapham Road, S.W. Gerald Friedlander, 109, Elgin Avenue, W.

Arthur Josephs, Broxbourne, Herts.

Henry Keeble, 10, Coleman Street, E.C.

Rev. F. C. Norton, Ditchling Vicarage, Sussex.

E. S. M. Perowne, 50, Cambridge Gardens, North Kensington.

J. Albert Thompson, 1, Catherine Street, Liverpool.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*), "Where was Tarshish?"

Remarks were added by Rev. C. J. Ball, Geo. Thorpe, F.S.A., Rev. A. Löwy, Jos. Offord, Rev. R. Gwynne, and the President.

A Paper was read by Theo. G. Pinches, "The Discoveries of the American Expedition at Niffer."

Remarks were added by Rev. R. Gwynne, H. Rassam, Thos. Tyler, and T. G. Pinches.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER LXIV.

Chapter whereby one cometh forth by day from the Netherworld.

I am Yesterday, To-day, and To-morrow, for I am born again and again; mine is the unseen Force, (1) which createth the gods and giveth food to those in the Tuat (2) at the West of Heaven; I am the Eastern Rudder, (3) the Lord of Two Faces, who seeth by his own light; the Lord of Resurrections, who cometh forth from the dusk and whose birth is from the House of Death.

Ye two divine Hawks (4) upon your gables, who are giving attentive heed to the matter; ye who accompany the bier to the tomb, and who conduct the ship of Râ, advancing onwards from the highest place of the Ark in heaven—the Lord of the Shrine (5) which standeth in the centre of the Earth;

He is I, and I am He. (6)

Mine is the radiance in which Ptah floateth over his firmament. (7)

Oh Râ, who smileth cheerfully, and whose heart is delighted with the perfect order of this day as thou enterest into Heaven and comest forth in the East: the Ancients and those who are gone before acclaim thee.

Let thy paths be made pleasant for me; let thy ways be made wide for me to traverse the earth and the expanse of Heaven.

Shine thou upon me, oh gracious Power; (8) as I draw nigh to the divine words which my ears shall hear in the Tuat; let no pollution of my mother be upon me; deliver me, protect me from him who closeth his eyes at twilight and bringeth to an end in darkness.

I am the Overflower, and Kam-ura (9) is my name: I bring to its fulness (10) the Force which is hidden within me.

Oh thou Great One, who art Shoreless, (11) and callest upon the Powers of the South, at the moment when the god is carried forth, saying:—

"Behold the Lord of his Flood; see, the Shoulder is fastened (12) upon his neck and the Haunch upon the head of the West" offerings which the two goddesses of the West (13) present to me when the weeping bursteth forth from me at what I witness, as I am borne round on the Tenait in Abydos, (14) and the bolts made fast on the gateways above your images are in the reach of thine hand and from within thee.

Thy face is as that of a hound whose nostril sniffeth at the covert to which my feet convey me.

Anubis is my bearer, for he who lulleth me to rest (16) is the god in Lion form.

Do thou save me!

I am He who cometh forth as one who breaketh through the door; and everlasting is the Daylight which his will hath created.

"I know the deep waters" is my name.

I satisfy the desires of the Glorified, who are by millions and hundreds of thousands....* I am the guardian of their interests, actively working at the hours of the day and adjusting the arms of Sahu; twelve in circling round, uniting hands, each of them with another. But the sixth of them in the Tuat is the 'Hour of the overthrow of the Sebau,' which cometh here in triumph; the same which maketh way into the Tuat; the same which is yoked with Shu.

I shine forth as the Lord of Life and the glorious order of this day: the blood which purifieth and the vigorous sword-strokes by which the Earth is made one.

I sever the horns (17) from those who unite in resistance to me; the hidden ones who rise up in opposition against me; those who go upon their bellies.

I come as the ambassador of the Lord of lords to avenge the cause of Osiris in this place. Let not † the Eye consume its tears.

I am the Guide of the house of Him who dwelleth in his treasures.

^{*} The text is too corrupt here for any plausible translation.

⁺ Not is omitted in many copies.

I am come from Sechem to Heliopolis to inform the Bennu of the matters of the Tuat.

Oh goddess Aucherit, who concealest that is within thee, but raisest up forms, like Chepera, grant that I may come forth and see the orb of the sun, and walk forth in the presence of the great god, who is Shu and abideth for eternity.

I travel on high, I tread upon the firmament, I raise a flame with the daylight which mine eye hath made, and I fly forward towards the splendours of the Glorified in presence of Râ daily, giving life to every man who treadeth on the lands (18) which are upon the earth.

Oh thou who leapest forth, conductor of the Shades and Glorified ones from the Earth, let the fair path to the Tuat be granted to me, which is made in behalf of those who are in faint condition and for the restoration of those who are in pain.

Who art thou, who devourest in Amenta?

I am He who presideth in Restau. "He who entereth in his own name, and cometh forth in quest; the Lord of the Eternity of the Earth" is my name.

She who hath conceived hath set down her burden; which turneth round before descending; the door is shut at the wall which is reversed...*

His Eye hath been given to Horus and his face brighteneth at the dawning of the day.

I am not exhausted: I become the Lion god and the palm flowers of Shu are upon me.

I am not one who drowneth.

Blessed are they who see (19) the Bourne: (20) beautiful is the god of the motionless heart who causeth the stay of the Overflowing

Behold! there cometh forth the Lord of Life, Osiris thy support, who abideth day after day.

I embrace the Sycomore, (21) I am united to the Sycomore.

I part the two deities of morning that I may come to hold the Eye, (22) and cause it to rest in its place.

I am come to see Râ at his setting, and I unite with the breeze at his coming forth: my two hands are pure for adoring him.

^{*} The copies of this paragraph are as discordant as they are unintelligible. It is idle to guess at the meaning until a better text can be discovered.

May I be restored! May I be restored!

I fly up to heaven and I alight upon the earth; and mine eye turneth back there towards the traces of my footsteps.

I am the offspring of Yesterday; the tunnels (23) of the earth have given me birth, and I am revealed at my appointed time.

May I be under shelter from the warlike handed god who cometh behind me, may my flesh be sound and may my glories be a protection to the limbs of one who waiteth for the purpose of taking counsel. May the Cycle of the gods listen to what I say.

To be said on coming forth by day; that one may not be kept back on the path of the Tuat, whether on entering or on coming forth; for taking all the forms which one desireth; and the soul of the person die not a second time.

If then this chapter be known the person is made triumphant upon earth [and in the Netherworld] and he performeth all things which are done by the living.

This chapter was discovered on a plinth of the god of the Hennu Bark (23) by a master builder of the wall in the time of King Septa, the Victorious. (24)

This composition is a secret; not to be seen or looked at.

Recite the chapter when sanctified and pure; not approaching women, not eating goat's flesh or fish.

Notes.

This is one of the most important as it is one of the most ancient chapters. The text of it was already doubtful at the time of the XIth dynasty. It had been handed down in two recensions, both of which were inscribed on the coffin of Queen Mentuhotep, the discovery of one of these being attributed to the time of King Septa of the Ist dynasty, and that of the second to the time of Menkaurâ, the king of the third pyramid. These two recensions are also found in the papyrus of Nebseni. The MSS. present innumerable various readings, few of which are of the slightest value. These have been collected, as far as they could be discovered, in the French and some other Museums in 1876, in a very admirable work upon the chapter, by M. Paul Guieysse,* who has translated and commented upon it and and all the variations of it known to him at the time.

^{*} Etudes Egyptologiques; sixième livraison.

Since then the papyrus of Nebseni has been published, and M. Naville has given all the variants found in the few existing papyri of the best period. I have notes of the readings of the papyri in the British Museum, and also those of a cast (now in the British Museum) taken from a block in serpentine, belonging to the Museum of the Hermitage in St. Petersburg.

With such light as could be derived from these extremely divergent authorities I have done my best (taking as the basis of my translation the texts in the papyrus of Nebseni and the rubric in which the discovery is ascribed to the time of king Septa) towards exhibiting the chapter in as intelligible a form as seems to me possible. Some passages as yet defy translation in consequence of the corruption of the text.

Some years before his untimely death M. de Rougé read his translation of this chapter before the Académie des Sciences. It is much to be lamented that this has never been published. I have, in addition to the versions of other scholars, a copy of one by Mr. Goodwin, with whom I read this and other chapters nearly thirty years ago. But this kind of literature is not one of those in which his marvellous sagacity showed to advantage.

In reading this and almost every other chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, it is absolutely necessary to bear in mind that different divine names do not necessarily imply different personalities. A name expresses but *one* attribute of a person or thing, and one person having several attributes may have several names. It is not implied in this chapter that the Sun is the Nile or the Inundation, but that the same invisible force which is manifested in the solar phenomena is that which produces the inundation; He is the Inundator. But he has many other names and titles.

In this chapter, as in others before it, the speaker at one time talks in terms identifying him with some divinity, and at another as a simple mortal petitioning some favour.

signifies one whose force is concealed or unseen. It is a theological term, frequent at all periods of the Egyptian religion, and implies that the deity is not to be confounded with its external manifestation. The Sun that we see hides as truly as it reveals the Sun-god; who, as this chapter shows, has other manifestations.

- 2. Those in the Tuat * called in the Pyramid Texts * Pepi I, 185. The more recent texts read "the gods of the West."
 - 3. Cf. Pepi I, 174.
- 4. Two divine Hawks upon your gables. They are mentioned in the Pyramid Texts* as $\mathcal{L}_{\mathcal{O}}$ A $\mathcal{L}_{\mathcal{O}}$ A $\mathcal{L}_{\mathcal{O}}$ Teta, 183. They represent the two divisions, North and South, of the kingdom of Horus. Cf. Rochemonteix, Edfu, p. 55 and many other such passages as that found there.
- 5. The Shrine which standeth in the centre of the Earth. This Shrine is also mentioned in the 'Book of Hades.' Cf. Bonomi, Sarc. 4c.
- 6. He is I, and I am He. Cf. the Pyramid Text—"Oh Râ.... Teta is thou, and thou art Teta...., thou risest as Teta, and Teta riseth in thee, etc.," Teta, 337.
- 7. Ptah floateth over his firmament. The meaning of the verb is shown in early texts by the determinative, as in the parallel passage of the 17th chapter.
- 9. Kam-urà , 'The great Extender," a name applied to Osiris, as the Nile. "Thy two sisters, Isis and Nephthys, come to thee, and they convey to thee Kamit urit [the great Extent] in thy name of Kam-urà [the great Extender]." Teta, 274.
- 10. I bring to its fulness, etc. The yearly inundation is the mature result of the innate force belonging to the god; the $\epsilon \nu \epsilon \rho \gamma \eta \mu \alpha$ of his $\epsilon \nu \epsilon \rho \gamma \epsilon \alpha$. This translation remains the same whether the reading be $\delta \gamma$ or $\delta \gamma$.
- space, a basin or channel with fixed limits. The inundation has no
- * Here as in the name of Tmu, the long sign is written first though read last.

determinate banks. Its course is from south to north, hence the reference to the deities of the South.

- 12. Shoulder and Haunch. The usual sacrificial joints. This passage was at an early date added to the paragraph which opens the chapter.
- It is said of Râ at Edfu . "He setteth in the West." The deities in question are Isis and Nephthys, who are also the deities of the East or Sunrise under the name of . Unas, 461.

In the passage of the Pyramid Texts just referred to it is stated that these "divinities in *Ununait* open their arms to the god as he stands up erect on the eastern side of the firmament."

Ununait is the place of rising, springing up.

14. The Tenait in Abydos. This feast has already been mentioned in Chapter I. It was one of those commemorative and representative of the death of Osiris, of his mutilation, mummification and burial. Prescriptions for carrying it out are found in the great text at Denderah, published by Dümichen and Mariette, and translated by Brugsch, and Loret, and (in part) by Dümichen.

Tenait is also the name of certain days of the month, and (Teta, 229) of the fifth hour of the day.

- 16. He who lulleth me, O The word is here in the dual, as corresponding to the double lion. Cf.

 O The word is the double lion. Cf.

 The important variant of the is found at Edfu (Rochemonteix, p. 78).
 - 17. I sever the horns. Cf. Psalm lxxv, 11.

- 18. The *lands*. The Egyptian word varies in the texts. The most authorized reading \bigcap is used in different senses: one of which (and perhaps the original one) is *put*, *put on*; *ponere*, *locare*, *induere*, *figere*, *addere*. Here it would seem from the context to mean locality, post, spot of earth. And I am inclined to identify \bigcap in this place with the well-known \bigcirc , or \square , as an equivalent if not as a phonetic variant.
- 19. Blessed are they who see written written in the Pyramid Texts (Unas, 584, Teta, 42, Pepi I, 181 and 199), where it is in parallelism with
- 20. The Bourne, On the goddess Menait, of. Teta 288, Pepi I, 70, 154, 163.
- 21. The Sycomore of Dawn repeatedly mentioned in the Book of the Dead. The Pyramid Texts also (Pepi I, 174) speak of the tall Sycomore of Sut in the Eastern Sky on which the gods congregate and sit, in expectation of the arrival of the Glorified one.
- Later texts, like the Turin copy, have . The two verbs here (like which is also found as a variant) are synonymous in the sense of embracing, holding,* enclosing, fastening, staying, propping.

According to the ancient myth Sut deprived Horus of his Eye, which was recovered by Thoth, and by him restored to its owner. The following passage from an inscription at Edfu (Rochemonteix, p. 25) is in strict accordance with the oldest mythological texts.

"Asten, who restored the Eye of Horus to its Lord, who preserved the Eye (ut'at) from suffering harm, who made fast the Eye (nutrit) in its place, and who

* Cf. the expressions of the control of the control

pacified Horus with his Eye." The different synonyms designating the Eye are important as showing that the word has been been used in the sense of the daily light of the sun.

The other part of the same text as Edfu gives additional variants.

A property of the same text as Edfu gives additional variants.

Here the Eye is called for a less frequent moment of the solar progress. In the Pyramid Texts for instance for a less frequent moment of the solar progress. In the Pyramid Texts for instance for a less frequent moment of the solar progress. In the Pyramid Texts for instance for a less frequent moment of the solar progress.

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The priestly title (, 'holder of the Eye,' is like all such titles, that of the divinity whom the priest personates. The god himself is hieroglyphically represented by the sign of an ape holding the Eye.

22. The tunnels, , Teta, 291; , Horhotep, 213. See my note Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., 1873, p. 385.

The Coptic & Kopi, which is generally supposed to be a serpent, is more probably an *earth-worm*, like $\stackrel{\raisebox{-4pt}{\sim}}{\Longrightarrow}$ W.

The Pyramid Texts have another word which I understand of the tunnels through which the Sun, Moon, and Stars pass from West to East, \(\sigma\), as opposed to \(\sigma\), the paths of the upper world. Anubis is called \(\sigma\), and these passages are \(\sigma\), and these passages are \(\sigma\), alion at each end). \(Cf.\) Teta, 319, where it is said of the Stars \(\sigma\).

that at their triumphant course through the tunnels the bones of the Akeru gods quake.

23. The god of the Hennu Bark, - he who resides in the $\begin{tabular}{l} \begin{tabular}{l} \begin{tabular} \begin{tabular}{l} \begin{tabular}{l} \begin{tabular}{l}$ of this ship is commonly named Sekaru in the texts, but Hennu is also one of the names of Horus. On the connection between the two names see Teta, line 270.

24. King Septa () of the Ist dynasty, who has been identified with the Usaphais of Manetho.

The other account of the discovery of the chapter is thus described in the rubric of the second recension.

This chapter was discovered at Hermopolis upon a slab of alabaster, inscribed in blue, under the feet of this god [Osiris], at the time of King Menkarā, the victorious, by the royal prince Hortatâf, when he was journeying for the purpose of inspecting the temples * and he carried off the slab in the royal chariot, when he saw what was on it.

The rubric farther prescribes that a scarab of hard stone encircled and purified with gold † should be placed upon the place of the heart of the deceased, and that the 'words of power' contained in the 30th chapter, "Heart mine of my mother," etc., should be repeated. The gold leaf or plate has been found on some scarabs, but has disappeared from nearly all.

The 'Ritual of Parma,' which speaks of two metals, smu, and silver (the latter for the rim), directs that the scarab should be put at the throat of the deceased. According to this authority it was the 30th chapter, not the 64th, which was discovered by Prince Hortâtâf in his inspectorial tour.

* There is no certainty about the text of the next few words.

† I understand by this that the gold is intended to keep the scarab free from defilement.



A SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE TO GIBIL-GAMISH.*

By Prof. Dr. Fritz Hommel.

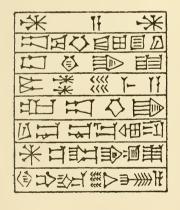
In addition to my remarks on the old fire-hero Gibil-gamish, as a synonym of Gishdubarra-Nimrod, I now add the following new proofs of the assertions stated in my last article.

In Plate 15, No. 26 of his admirable work,† Prof. Hilprecht gives a small inscription of only eight short lines, which he describes, p. 49, as follows:

c. 2250 B.C.‡ Cream coloured soapstone tablet, reverse broken off, $4.85 \times 4 \times 0.8$. Presumably neighbourhood of *Babylon*. Inscr., 8 lines. C.B.M. 103.

The text runs thus:

which I transcribe in New-Assyrian characters:



〈四: \$\frac{1}{2} \rightarrow \rightarrow

- * Comp. these Proceedings, May, 1893.
- † The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A, vol. i, Philadelphia, 1893.
- ‡ This would be, according to Hilprecht's chronology (Hammurabi, 2277-2222 B.C.) contemporaneous with Hammurabi, or, in other words, the middle of dynasty A. He was led to this approximate date, as it seems, only from palæographical reasons.

that is, in Roman transliteration:

Anît-ma (Sumerian | Sumerian | Su

or in English: Anû-ma (perhaps also Hû-ma), ruler of the hosts (or people) of Erech, son of Bel-shimîa (or Nab-shimîa), (who) the wall of Erech, the old building (or construction) of Gibil-gamish, has restored (lit. has brought again to his place).

In this text, in the first place it is worthy of remark, that our old Gibil-gamis is regarded as the founder of the wall of Erech, the same town whose mythical king was Gish-dubarra in the epic; and being at the same time the best confirmation of the identification of Gish-dubar with Gilgamish (Aelian's Gilgamos) in Mr. Pinches' tablet. But the most interesting point is, that even in so early a time (about 2000 B.C.), this old legend is alluded to in an old Babylonian historical inscription.

Secondly, we gain from this inscription the important fact, that the founder of the so-called second dynasty of Babel, the king >> \ \ \ \ \ \ \ (Anû-ma-ilu) of the list, was really only a prince of Erech, and further, that the Extra (VY (Uru-ku, also to be read Uraazagga, or Sis-ku, Sis-azag) of the list, is only another ideographical form of writing Unug, Uruk, Erech. For I think it beyond all doubt that the name Anû-ma-ilu of the list is only a fuller form for Anû-ma of our text. Now I am more confirmed than ever, that the dynasty of Anû-ma-ilu Gulkišar (comp. for him the chronological date, Hilprecht, pl. 30, No. 83, obverse, line 6 ff., "from Gulki-šar, king of the sea-land, to Nabu-kudurrî-ussur I, King of Babel, was 696 years"), etc., is contemporaneous with the dynasty of Sumuabi Hammu-rabi, etc. In this case, the approximate date of our text would be circa 2080 instead of 2250, the inscription being thus perhaps two centuries older than Hammurabi (who reigned then about 1900-1845 B.C.).

As a mere conjecture of mine, I give, in conclusion, the opinion, that the well known name Amnanu of the inscriptions of the old kings of Erech, originated from a contraction of Umman-Unu(k), and signified the hordes belonging to the dominion of Uruk (Erech). which inhabited the sea coast (comp. Gul-kišar, king of sea-land!) of Southern Babylonia. In this case, the princes of the so-called second dynasty possessed in the beginning Erech and the sea coast; but, Erech being conquered by Izi-Aku (Rim-Sin) and Hammurabi, they were afterwards confined to the sea coast alone; so it would be clear that Gulkšar was called no more King of Erech, but only King of the Sea coast. Another question arises, are we still justified in identifying the town Uru-azag-ga of the Gudea inscriptions >= YY \\\ EYY with Extra (YY of the list? I think it not impossible that Uru-azagga was a synonym of Uru-ku, but at the moment there is no proof of it; the mention of **EXECUTE** in the inscriptions of the old kings of Sirgulla besides Uru-azag-ga (but not in the same phrases) would not speak absolutely against it.



STELÆ FROM WADY HALFA.

By W. E. CRUM.

Some of the material results of Captain Lyons's excavations in Southern Egypt have reached Oxford. Four sandstone stelæ, all found in the northern Brick Temple at Halfa,* are now in the Ashmolean Museum, the keeper of which, Mr. Arthur J. Evans, has kindly enabled me to publish them here. The identification of Halfa with $Bo\hat{\omega}\nu$ is further confirmed by these stelæ, three of which show the name

I. 17 × 15 in. Above is the disk, with wings and uræi. Below it:—



II. $12\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. Above is the winged disk; immediately below it were eight horizontal lines of text. But of these only the final

^{*} Vide Champollion, Not. Descr., I, 30, plan, at E and F; also the Athenæum, 19th August, 1893.

signs in each now remain, and even they are, for the most part, quite unclear. The inscription began with a "proscynema" to "[Osiris,] lord of Busiris and Horus, lord of Boôn." The work is very rough, and recalls that of certain semi-hieratic stelæ of the Middle Kingdom, though the form of the winged disk belongs rather to later periods.*

III. $36 \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ in. This stele is of fine stone and good workmanship. At the top, upon the right, is the ut'a; on the left is one wing of the disk \bigcirc , with dependent urei, between which is the name of Thothmosis IV, \bigcirc ; the disk itself, immediately above, serving as the sign \bigcirc . The one-winged disk and ut'a eye seem characteristic of the stelæ of this reign.† The central register is occupied by a well wrought picture, in relief, of a goddess, seated upon the throne \bigcirc , and holding the emblem \bigcirc , and the lotusheaded sceptre. Her hair falls in long straight locks, is adorned with a wreath of white blossoms (?) and surmounted by the horned disk. Behind her head is a large scorpion. Before her stands the table of offerings, while beyond it is a space formerly filled, it seems, by a standing male figure, since erased. Between these two figures and above the table is the following text:—



The word papears to have been replaced, after an earlier erasure. The background of this scene is painted red, the coiffure of the goddess black. The lower portion of the stele bears four horizontal lines:—



^{*} E.g., Abydos, II, 47; Karnak, XI.

[†] Vide Cat. d'Abydos, p. 383; but occasional examples are found also later on, e.g., Rec., XII, 17 (19th or 20th Dynasty).



In line 4, both and have been erased, but the latter was subsequently renewed. I am not clear as to the meaning of mh-àb n Kaš r dàdàs. A possible translation is "Delighting [the King] as regards Ethiopia beyond what she produces," i.e., more even than the products of Ethiopia delight him. Or it may be, "The delight of Ethiopia beyond her products," which would imply that the prince was more esteemed in Ethiopia than the native riches which the country produced.* The royal prince, in whose name the stele is inscribed, is presumably the Amenophis of Lepsius, Denkmäler, III, 69 a,† whom one would naturally take to be the future Amenophis III.

IV. A plain winged disk surmounts the following legends:-



Even with the help of a squeezing, the signs terminating each of the horizontal lines are very indistinct. Below may be ; is quite uncertain. "The northern boundary of the territory(?) of the chief-priest (? of Horus)." But what follows? Is it the dimensions

18

^{*} A somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is that of Louvre C. 2, A Somewhat similar phrase is the contract of the Contrac

of the territory? "Cultivable land, of 5 square arura* (in extent), situated in the district of Pr-ḥt'a." I presume saḥ to be connected with

It happens that another boundary-stone of this reign has been preserved.§ It was procured at Luxor, and shows, like the above stele from Halfa and an older boundary-stone at Semne, || a blank space below the inscription.

It may be noted too that another stele from the same reign¶ recounts the twice repeated gift of land to the temple of Abydos.

- * Vide Griffith, in Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., June, 1892, 410 ff.
- † Brugsch, Wörterbuch, Sup., 1094.
- ‡ Chabas, Voyage, &c., pl. 7, 2.
- § Mariette. Mon. div., 47 a.
- || Lepsius, Deukmäler, II, 136, i.
- ¶ Louvre, C. 53.



THE MOERIS PAPYRI.

By Cope Whitehouse.

In 1870 Mariette Bey published in fac-simile, under the auspices of His Highness Ismail Pasha, nine papyri in the Museum of Boulaq. It commenced with two fragments known as "the Moeris papyrus." In 1872 M. Maspero published a translation of these papyri in the Revue critique d'histoire et de Littérature (No. 12, 23 Mars). He styled them: "Les fragments d'un traité de géographie religieuse rempli de notions curieuses sur l'une des provinces les moins connues de l'Egypte, le Fayūm." These papyri are in hieroglyphics, carefully drawn. A singular fact is the numbering of the various subdivisions in very small demotic figures. Some hieratic characters outside the text are of the type of the Roman epoch. Therefore M. Maspero was led to think that the date of this copy could not be earlier than the first century B.C.; and inclined to the opinion that it might even be of the first century A.D.

When Dr. Brugsch was preparing his geographical dictionary, he embodied in it texts from a papyrus which he termed the Labyrinth Papyrus. He had access to a tracing belonging to Dr. Eisenlohr copied from the original in Alexandria, but it did not purport to be a fac-simile. The papyrus had been acquired in 1859 by Mr. Hood. In 1884 Dr. Eisenlohr wrote to Dr. Pleijte: "Je l'ai copié d'après la copie que Mr. A. C. Harris en a fait dans ses livres de notice, que sa fille avait mis dans mes mains. Le papyrus se trouvait en possession d'un Anglais, nommé Hood. Je me suis addressé à sa Veuve pour l'original, mais elle ne l'avait plus ou ne le trouvait pas." (Pleijte, p. 2).

In 1884, Dr. Pleijte published his treatise: Over drie Handschriften op Papyrus bekend onder de titels van Papyrus du Lac Moeris, du Fayoum, et du Labyrinth. The Director of the Royal Museum of Antiquities in Leyden republished the Boulaq edition, but in black and white, and a fac-simile of Dr. Eisenlohr's tracing.

In 1885 I visited Mrs. Hood, at Lincoln. She informed me that a copy of a papyrus purchased by Mr. Hood, at Thebes, in

1859, had been made by Miss Harris; that the original had been mounted with the aid of Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, and was at Nettleham Hall in Lincolnshire. She did not recognize the tracing of Dr. Eisenlohr as a copy of that papyrus. On examination, however, it proved to be the original, with numerous texts and vignettes omitted. Five hieroglyphic inscriptions, completing the part called the papyrus of the Fayoum, were communicated by me to the Leeman's Volume.

My examination of the so-called "Labyrinth papyrus" enabled me to show that it is, in fact, a fragment of what was once a continuous volume. It is 67 inches long. It ends with a ragged edge, where it was torn from the piece in the Gizeh Museum. The sterns of the two boats with three inscriptions, and a double vertical line, terminate this portion. (See Plate III.)

The Fayoum section therefore may be completed by adding, at the right, to the boat on the canal of the South, a stern with a hawk as a figure-head, similar to that on the prow, facing the same way, and a post with a steering oar, each surmounted by a hawk's head. Above the stern ornament are two vertical lines:

The boat of the North, similarly provided with a stern post and rudder, has the figure-head of the ram, but also repeats the sphinx and palm leaf. Immediately behind the figure of Sevek, extending from the middle of the papyrus to his shoulder is:

It is a piece of singular good fortune that Mr. Hood also acquired and preserved a fragment which contains the end of the Moeris papyrus. Its greatest width is about three inches. On the left it has been trimmed with a knife. The ragged edge on the right contains a thick curved line which belongs to the basin numbered by Dr. Pleijte XIV. The corners I–IV and XIV are filled with a terminal ornament, 2·3 inches long and 1·4 inches high, formed by a vertical line and the inner horizontal line of the papyrus, with a re-entrant curve in the shape of a consol. Lines a have three

By adding to the Harris copy of the "Labyrinth papyrus" as published by Dr. Pleijte a throne for each god, except the serpent, and a single sub-section IIB, with the following text, the outer circle is complete. The ends are given on Plates I and II.

It will be observed that the sub-divisions are numbered throughout. I incline to the opinion that in the Roman period a translator, guided by precisely the same motives as those that actuated Dr. Pleijte, thus identified the sections which he discussed. It is important to note this fact, because there are two blanks in the Fayoum section, which have been attributed to the incomplete condition of this copy. Should we assume that the copyist had neglected to complete the figure 13 in Plate III? I think not.

If it be taken to refer to the perennial canal of the Fayoum, the Bahr Jūsuf, it would rightly be represented by only the upper portion. The lower part of a man standing in its bed would be hidden by the stream. So also, the canal of the South is represented as a blank. Should we not find here an allusion to its constant flow, while the lotus, springing up in the canal of the North, points to some important difference in the functions they discharged?

If this emblematic and conventional map is of the first century, and does relate to the Fayoum, its great canal, and famous Labyrinth,

^{*} The entire papyrus should be published in fac-simile. Mr. Hood very kindly allowed me to take a tracing, but has not yet felt willing to accept m offer to have it photographed at my own expense.

then a comparison with the map of Egypt from the Ptolemaic Atlas, published in these Proceedings, Dec., 1892, cannot fail to be instructive.*

Reserving for another occasion a detailed discussion of the points which present themselves, it is sufficient to say that the four canals, described in the vertical line, Plate III, would be in working order, if a lake, as a storage-reservoir, should be formed in the Wadi Raiyān.† The Civitas Nili would also reappear upon the map.

The entire roll, therefore, may be described as composed of:

- I. The Moeris-Labyrinth title-page, published in fac-simile by M. Mariette and Dr. Pleijte, stolen from the Museum of Boulaq, and now in the possession of Dr. Reinisch.
- II. Three unpublished fragments, belonging to Mr. Hood, of a total length of about 7 inches; and, probably, certain other fragments in the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney.
- III. The "Labyrinth" Section, commencing with Plate I, the text IIB, and the end, Plate II, to be added to the Harris-Eisenlohr tracing of Pleijte's edition. Twelve vignettes and texts in the oval will be published in a future number of these Proceedings.
- IV. The Canals of the North and South, and the Fayoum branch of the Bahr Jūsuf. These are "the two entrances" of Strabo, and "the canal which Mēris cut, 40 stadia in length," (Diodorus I, IV.)
- V. The Fayoum; and the Temple-Dam at Ha-Uar-t $\bigcirc \bigcirc \bigcirc \bigcirc \bigcirc \bigcirc$, Hauara, Aĕaρıs (see Pierret, p. 341, and Brugsch, D.G, I, 86–90, 278–280, for hieroglyphs; but for the identification Fayoum-Avaris-Goshen, my paper, *Proceedings*, 1885, p. 116).
- VI. "Papyrus No. 2," of Boulaq, published by M. Mariette and by Dr. Pleijte, as completed on Plate III; and the vertical line: "These are the two canals of the North; these are the two canals of the South, which water the Nome of ta Sê."
- * In "The Geography of Ptolemy elucidated," Mr. T. G. Rylands has solved, with infinite labour, great skill, and fertility of suggestion, a problem of extreme difficulty. The errors of observation however which distort Scotland, have no parallel here. The Original Greek map of Egypt adopted by the Latin translator not only depicts a part of the world where the low latitudes are more nearly a plane surface, but each place in the Nile valley had been visited by Cl. Ptolemy himself.

[†] See Parliamentary Report, "Egypt," 1893.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 5th December, 1893, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:-

Rev. Dr. GASTER.—The Hebrew Text of one of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.



PLATE I.

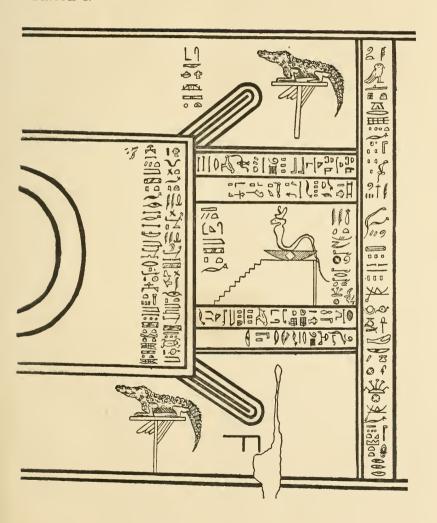
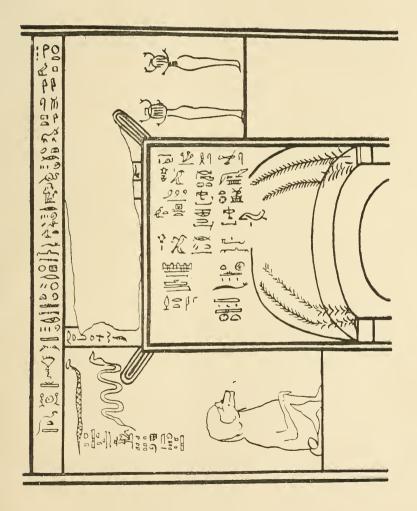


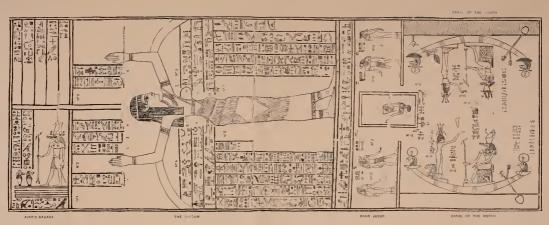


PLATE II.









THE FAYOUM SECTION OF THE MOERIS PAPYRUS.

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4-9 PART 2.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XVI. TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION.

Second Meeting, December 5th, 1893.

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A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1893-94.

Second Meeting, 5th December, 1893.

REV. JAMES MARSHALL

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Süd-Arabische Chrestomathie. Minäs-Sabäishe Grammatik-Bibliographie, Minärsche Inschriften nebst Glossar. Von Dr. Fritz Hommel. 4to. München, 1893.

From the Egyptian Exploration Fund, completing the Society's set:—The City of Onias, and the Mound of the Jew. 1890.

Bubastis. 1891. The Festival Hall of Osorkon II, in the Great Temple of Bubastis. 1892. Beni-Hassan. Part I. 1893. 4to.

Archæological Reports, 1890-91 and 1892-93. Reports. 1883 to 1892.

[No. cxvIII.]

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 7th November, and elected Members of the Society:—

Charles E. Allnutt, 159, Evering Road, Stoke Newington, N. William Edwin Blundell, 83, Stapleton Hall Road, Stroud Green, N.

W. St. Clad Boscawen, 29, Albert Square, Clapham Road, S.W. Gerald Friedlander, 109, Elgin Avenue, W.

Arthur Josephs, Broxbourne, Herts.

Henry Keeble, 10, Coleman Street, E.C.

Rev. F. C. Norton, Dichling Vicarage, Sussex.

E. S. M. Perowne, 50, Cambridge Gardens, North Kensington.

J. Albert Thompson, 1, Catherine Street, Liverpool.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 9th January, 1894:—

Major P. H. Hewitt, 25, Argyll Road, Kensington, W.

Ludwig Mond, The Poplars, 20, Avenue Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

S. A. Strong, St. John's Road, Putney Hill.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:-

The Library of the Athenæum, Liverpool, G. T. Shaw, Librarian.

A Paper was read by the Rev. Dr. Gaster, The Hebrew Text of one of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

Remarks were added by the Rev. James Marshall, Rev. J. Sutton Moxly, Rev. Dr. Friedlander, Thomas Tylor, and Dr. Gaster.



BOOK OF THE DEAD. By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER LXV.

Chapter whereby one cometh forth by day and prevaileth over the adversaries,

Oh thou who shinest forth from the Moon, thou who givest light from the Moon, let me come forth at large amid thy train, let me be revealed as one of those in glory. Let the Tuat be opened for me. Here am I: let me come forth upon this day, and be glorified. Let the glorified ones grant to me that I live and that mine adversaries be brought to me in bonds before the divine Circle; may the Genius of my mother be propitiated thereby, as I rise up upon my feet with a sceptre of gold in my hand, and lop off the limbs. May I rise up, a Babe [from between] the knees of Sothis, when they close together. (1)

Notes.

The first part of this chapter is nearly identical with Chapter 2. No copy of it is found in the papyri of the older period. In place of it M. Naville has published a chapter bearing the same title, and which is found in five ancient papyri. These texts however are extremely discordant and corrupt, and in the more difficult, and to us more interesting, passages must have been quite unintelligible to the copyists. The second word, for instance, of line 8 is ri in Ca, the corresponding word is . htu in Ta, $t\bar{a}i$ in Pb, $r\bar{a}u$ in Ia and hti in Aa. A discrepancy not less violent is encountered after the next three words. The oldest extant form of the chapter is that of Aa, the papyrus of Nebseni; it is also the shortest, and the other forms appear to me to exhibit signs of interpolation. But M. Naville was quite right in taking the text of Ca as his basis for the collation of the texts.

1. This whole passage, as it stands, in the MSS. is extremely obscure, and I can only make sense of it by conjecturing that a preposition has been omitted by the copyists.

The knees of a goddess are frequently mentioned in connection with the birth of a divinity. Here the Babe is mentioned (cf. opening of Chapter 42), and the closing of the knees. The word $\bar{a}nh$, 'live,' has for its primitive meaning 'rise up,' and it is in this sense that I translate it here.

CHAPTER LXVI.

Chapter whereby one cometh forth by day.

I know that I have been conceived by Sechit and that I am born of Neith.

I am Horus, who proceedeth from the Eye of Horus; I am Uat'it, and I come forth like the Hawk which soareth aloft and resteth upon the brow of Rā at the prow of his Bark in Heaven.

CHAPTER LXVII.

Chapter whereby the doors of the Tuat are opened and one cometh forth by day.

Let the doors be opened of the caverns of Nu, and let the feet be loosened of those who are in glory.

Let the caverns of Shu be opened, that he may come forth at large, and that I may issue from my funereal pit to my seat which is at the prow of the Bark of $R\bar{a}$; let me issue without disaster to my seat which is at the prow of the Bark of $R\bar{a}$, the all-radiant one, as he riseth up from his lair.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

Chapter whereby one cometh forth by day.

Let the two doors of Heaven be opened to me: let the two doors of Earth be opened to me: let the bolts of Seb open to me, and let the First Mansion be opened to me, that he may behold me who hath kept guard over me: and let him unloose me who hath wound his arms around me and hath fastened his arms upon me into the earth.

Let the Re-hunit (1) be opened to me, let me pass into the Re-hunit; let the Re-hunit be given to me, that I may come forth by day whithersoever my heart desireth.

Let me have possession of my heart, let me have possession of my Whole heart; let me have possession of my mouth, let me have possession of my legs, let me have possession of my arms, let me have possession of my limbs absolutely; let me have possession of my funereal meals, let me have possession of air, let me have possession of water, let me have possession of the stream, let me have possession of the river, let me have possession of the banks.

Let me have possession of all things soever which were ritually offered for me in the Netherworld. Let me have possession of the table which was made for me upon earth—the solicitations (2) which were uttered for me "that he may feed upon the bread of Seb."

That which I execrate, I eat it not. Let me feed upon the bread of the red corn of the Nile in a pure place, let me sip beer of the red corn of the Nile in a pure place; let me sit under the branches of the palm trees [in Heliopolis] in the train of Hathor, when the solar orb broadeneth (3), as she proceedeth to Heliopolis with the writings of the divine words of the Book of Thoth.

Let me have possession of my heart, let me have possession of my Whole heart; let me have possession of my arms, let me have possession of my legs, let me have possession of my funereal meals, let me have possession of air, let me have possession of water, let me have possession of the stream, let me have possession of the river, let me have possession of the barks.

Let me have possession of all things soever which were ritually offered for me in the Netherworld. Let me have possession of the table which was made for me upon earth.

Let me be raised up on the left and on the right; let me be raised up on the right and on the left.

Let me sit down and let me stand up, and strain for the breeze [with] my tongue and mouth like a skilled pilot. (4)

If this scripture is known, he will come forth by day and he will travel over the earth in the midst of the living, uninjured for ever.

Notes.

Copies of this chapter are found on the coffins of Mentuhotep and Sebak-āa at Berlin, and have been published by Lepsius in his Actieste Texte, pl. 8, 21, 22, and 34. They are unfortunately in very mutilated condition, and my translation follows the text of the Theban papyri.

1. The Re-hunit in this place is clearly not an Egyptian locality,

but a passage between the Netherworld and heaven or earth.

3. This passage explains what is meant in Chapter 28 by the god of the Broad Face. One of the papyri (Ia) adds the well known epithet of the setting sun 'old.'

It is Hathor who proceeds to Heliopolis, as the feminine suffix which is used in the oldest texts, proves.

4. M. Lefébure (Papyrus de Soutimès, p. 3, note 8) understands the passage as meaning "I seek the direction of the wind in order to avoid it." But I am inclined to recognize a superstition still current among sailors, the "whistling for a breeze."

The oldest copies and the more recent ones have different readings, and though the words *uha hemu* occur repeatedly in the Pyramid Texts, the second word is not written as in the Theban papyri, but

CHAPTER LXIX.

Otherwise said:

I am a Flaming One, and brother to a Flaming One.

I am Osiris, brother to Isis. He who avengeth me is my son Horus, in company with his mother, upon mine adversaries; adversaries who have done to me all wicked and evil things.

Chains have been put upon their arms and hands and feet in consequence of the evil things which they have done to me.

I am Osiris, the eldest of the great cycle of the gods (1) and heir of his father Seb.

I am Osiris, the Lord of the heads of life; powerful before and behind; his phallus extendeth to the limits of the human race.*

I am Sahu, who assigneth the bounds as he saileth round the starry throng of Heaven, the body of my mother Nut, who conceived me at her will and brought me forth at her desire.

^{*} Cf. note on the Ass of Chapter 40.

I am Anubis on the day of the Rending asunder.

I am the Bull in the Field; I, even I, Osiris, who shut up his father and his mother on the day when the great slaughter took place. My father is Seb and my mother is Nut.

I am Horus, the eldest of Rā as he riseth.

I am Anubis on the day of Rending asunder: I am Osiris.

O great One, who enterest and speakest to him who presenteth the tablets and guardeth the door of Osiris, (2) grant that I may come in and be glorified, let me be appraised, and let me be made vigorous, that I may come and avenge myself.

Let me sit at the cradle (3) of Osiris, and put an end to my suffering and pain; let me be made strong and vigorous at the cradle of Osiris, so that I may be born with him and renewed. Said twice.

Let me seize that Thigh (4) which is under the place of Osiris, with which I may open the mouth of the gods and sit by him, like Thoth the Scribe, sound of heart, (5) with thousands of loaves, beer, beef, and fowl upon the table of my father, and the flesh of oxen and birds of various kinds, (6) which I offer to Horus, which I present to Thoth, and which I sacrifice to the Lord of Heaven.

CHAPTER LXX.

Another Chapter.

I have come to an end (7) for the Lord of Heaven. I am written down as sound of heart, and I rest at the table of my father Osiris, King of Tattu, and my heart is stirred by his country. I breathe the eastern breeze by its hair (8); I grasp the north wind by its side lock; I grasp the south wind by the skin as I make the circuit of heaven on its four sides; I seize the east wind by the skin, and I give the breezes to the faithful dead amid those who eat bread.

If this scripture is known upon earth he will come forth by day, he will walk upon earth amid the living: his name will be uninjured for ever.

NOTES TO CHAPTERS LXIX AND LXX.

These last two chapters are always found together, and always appended to the ancient Chapter 68. This is the case not only in the papyri, but in tombs like that of Bakenrenef.

- 1. The later texts say "the eldest of the five gods."
- 2. Who presenteth the tablets and guardeth the door of Osiris. See picture of Thoth in the Psychostasia.
 - 3. Where Osiris renews his birth.
- 4. The Thigh. The iron instrument so called used in the ceremony of 'Opening the mouth' of the deceased.
- 5. Sound of heart implies that the conscience of the deceased has been recognized as blameless.
- 6. Oxen and birds of various kinds. These kinds are named in the text, but we have no corresponding European names.
- 7. I have come to an end. The first two words of this chapter are evidently copied from the end of the last, but instead of menhu, 'sacrificial slaughter,' the notion of menå or meni 'coming to an end,' has been substituted. Later texts read "I do not come to an end."
- 8. Its hair. All this paragraph sounds very strangely, and translators are tempted to understand that the hair, side-lock, and skin of the deceased are acted upon by the winds.* But the feminine suffix shows that the converse is the case. The speaker catches the air and distributes it, as we are afterwards told, to the faithful departed.
 - * But we "catch Time by the forelock," and so did the Greeks.



THE HEBREW TEXT OF ONE OF THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS.

By REV. DR. M. GASTER.

A careful study of the old apocryphal literature has proved beyond doubt that it was of purely Jewish origin, and was written in Hebrew, or in the Aramaic dialect spoken at that time in Palestine.

I speak of that literature which arose in the two centuries before and one century after Christ. Now preserved in translations, or entirely lost, that literature underwent in the course of time a considerable change. The less its authority was recognised, the more easier it was the prey of different sects, which shaped and changed and distorted it through omissions and interpolations, in order to suit the views of the then ruling or disputing sects.

This class of literature is popular literature. It is no man's land. Whoever chooses takes possession of it, and utilises it the best he likes. Yet the original cannot be entirely obliterated; it betrays itself by peculiarities of language, by references to other works, by contradictions where the hand of the interpolator was not skilful enough.

By the aid of these points, the fact has now been established beyond doubt that the Book of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, and many other similar writings, were originally composed in Hebrew. The original seems to have disappeared, and only translations have come down to us, which are just as often mutilations of the original.

It would lead me far beyond the scope of the present investigation were I attempting to show that not one single Hebrew original has been lost. They have only undergone a certain transformation, carried on on a fixed plan. Not that there was any premeditation in the way how those texts were treated; circumstances, acting automatically, have had an uniform result. All those prophetic portions that bore upon actuality and foretold

the fulfilment of certain events which were belied by the future, dropped out, and were soon lost. They discredited themselves, and the people discarded them. On the other hand, all that which was of a legendary, historical character, or of a poetical and visionary, were preserved. They still exist, and I trust to be able to finish, one day, my book, "On the Hebrew Fragments of the Apocryphal Literature."

One of those ancient books which shared the same fate with the Books of Enoch and Jubilees, is now that known under the title of, "The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs." From the first publication by Grabe down to Sinker, who published the Greek text with critical notes and introduction, many were the opinions concerning the date of the composition and the probable author.

Sinker summarises those opinions,* and I can do no better than reproduce them here in a more concise form.

"Grabe, the first who treated at length of the *Testaments*, thought that the writing in question was the work of a Jew shortly before the Christian era, and to account for the presence of passages which no Jew could possibly have written, he had recourse to the theory of interpolation. This opinion, however, has found but little favour, and critics have generally agreed to the conclusions of Nitzsch, who definitely attributed the work to a Judæo-Christian writer, although admitting a grave objection to this hypothesis to exist in the language used with reference to St. Paul and the Gentile Christians."

"A new theory was first advanced with a view of obviating th objection by Ritschl (1850), who, for the reason above alluded to, maintained the author to have been a Christian of Pauline tendencies. In the following year this theory was attacked by Kayser, who upheld the old view, and got rid of the difficulty arising from the liberal views of the writer by supposing interpolations, more especially in the famous passage alluding to St. Paul."

"Shortly after appeared the essay of Vorstman, which advocated Ritschl's view, and attacked Kayser's arguments seriatim; maintaining strongly the authenticitly of the supposed interpolation, as affording one of the strongest arguments for the Pauline origin of the document. Strangely enough, within a month of the publication of Vorstman's essay, a second edition of Ritschl's work appeared,

^{*} R. Sinker, "Testamenta XII Patriarcharum;" Cambridge, 1869, p. 18 ff.

yielding a curious instance of the various effects of the same arguments on different minds; for, influenced by Kayser's essay, Ritschl held now the Judæo-Christian origin of the book (in fact specifying so far as to maintain the author to have been a Nazarene), and thought that Kayser had succeeded in rendering probable his views as to the interpolation."

"Kayser maintains that the author of this writing was an Essene-Ebionite, and brings forward some reasons for his view."

Sinker's conclusion is, "that the idea of the book, its form, its Christology, its ethics, display unmistakably a Jewish hand. The evidence which has gone to prove the Judæo-Christian authorship of the *Testaments* points also, not indeed with certainty, but with a fair degree of likelihood, to the sect whom Jerome knew as the Nazarenes (the half orthodox Ebionites whom Irenæus distinguishes from those wholly heretical), rather than to those of whom he speaks under the title of Ebionites."*

Thus far about the origin of the writing. Concerning now the language, Dillman, otherwise so cautious in his remarks, when speaking of our writing, says: "Since the publication of Nitzsch's study, all are agreed that the Book is *not* a translation, but was originally written in Greek."

Much more decided and outspoken is Mr. Sinker on the question of the language in which the book was originally written. "Not only is it of Judæo-Christian origin, but also, as to the question of the language, little need be said. The Testaments, in their present form, were no doubt written in the Hellenistic Greek in which we now possess them, presenting, as they do, none of the peculiar marks which characterise a version. Whether there were a Hebrew work on which the present was modelled, a supposition by no means improbable in itself, we cannot tell, nor is it a matter of much importance." And further on: "Everything points to the conclusion that the work in its present form is no mere translation, though thoroughly imbued with the Hebrew tone of thought, and no doubt written by one conversant with the Hebrew of his day.";

We shall presently see how we stand about the language, and whether it is a matter of much importance or not.

^{*} L.c., p. 26-27.

[†] Herzog, Real Encyclopædie, s.v. Pseudo-opigraphen, XII², p. 362.

[‡] L.c., p. 31.

Sinker, and all those who agree with his conclusions, must assume that the book, as we possess it now, is all of one piece, that there are no interpolations; in fact, that the text has not been touched up and remodelled.

This assumption, however, has been deeply shaken by Schnapp, who in his essay * takes again up the line of argument used first by Grabe, and then by Kayser. Taking especially the Testaments of Levi and Iudah, Schnapp proves clearly that this book had the same fate as nearly all the writings of that period; that besides an original text written by a Jew, there are many interpolations made by Christian compilers, many of which were introduced into the text very clumsily.

The Armenian version, examined since by Conybeare,† proves unmistakably that many a passage has been interpolated into the text which we possess. Only by eliminating some such passages which interrupt the text in an arbitrary manner, the true meaning can be found. Glaring contradictions can only be explained by the same theory.

We must, however, go a few steps beyond those reached by Schnapp and Conybeare. We must inquire into the sources of that writing, into the whole character and tendency of the Testaments, obscured through those strange elements introduced into them.

The book is not only imbued with the Hebrew tone of thought, but thoroughly conversant with Hebrew Aggadah, with the whole Hebrew legendary lore. Nay, more: The whole writing formed evidently originally a portion of the Book of Jubilees. similarity in tone and contents has been pointed out by Dillman, and explained by the borrowing theory. It is, at least, singular, however, that the Book of Enoch should be quoted, and the other not even mentioned, though it stood in a more close relation to the latter than to the former.

My conviction is, that it formed originally part of the Book of Jubilees, and therefore it is not referred to as being one and the same. In the Book of Jubilees we have almost identical testaments of Abraham, Rebecca and Isaac. There was no necessity to invent one for Jacob, considering that his is given in the Bible.

^{* &}quot;Die Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen;" Halle, 1884.

⁺ Jewish Quarterly Review, 1893, p. 375 ff.

Chapter ix of Levi's Testament refers distinctly to chapter xxxi of the Book of Jubilees.

The similarity is far greater still, if we go into minute details, one of which—the age of the Patriarchs—I shall mention later on.

Having once established the primitive unity of the XII Testaments with the Book of Jubilees, we are enabled to look for other parallels in Hebrew literature, especially in those writings which betray a certain closeness in their contents with that of the Book of Jubilees.

As first in rank and importance I mention the book called "Sepher ha-Yashar," or "Sepher Toledoth Adam," "The Book of the Generations of Adam."

In that work of mine, to which I have alluded above, I trace the Book of Jubilees step by step in that Book Yashar. If my theory be correct, then the XII Testaments ought also to be found in that It suffices to say, then, that a great number of legendary instances of the XII Testaments find indeed their exact parallels in that very book of Yashar; such as the names of the wives of the twelve sons, or the number of years each one of them lived, the dates in which they were born, and the order in which they died. (Book of Jubilees, ch. xxviii, S. ha-Yashar, f. 89a-90b, and 116b-117a, fol. 121a, ed. Pr., ch. lxi, v. 1 ff.). Nearly half of the Testament of Judah, the battle with the Emorites, finds its counterpart in the Yashar, ch. xxxvii to xxxix, with the same names of kings and places as in the Testaments of Judah. I intend devoting to this chapter a separate study, and compare all the Hebrew versions. This Testament rightly interpreted will, in my opinion, give us a clue to the date of the composition, and also to the probable author of these writings.

Coincidences of such a nature which extend to minute dates and names are not the result of chance. One must have borrowed from the other, or both have borrowed from one common source, viz., the Aggadic Midrash.

That such is really the case is shown by the fact that we find numerous parallels in the ancient Hebrew writings. Some of them are identical with those which I have pointed out to be common to the Testaments and to the Book of Yashar. We find, for instance, the ages of the Patriarchs given also in the Midrasch Tadshe,*

^{*} Ed. Jellinek, Beth-hamidrash, III, p. 171.

further in the commentary of Bahya (1291) to Exodus. This chronology is to be found also in the very much older Seder Olam Zutta, and can be traced very far back to the Hellenistic writer, Demetrius, quoted by Alexander Polyhistor.*

Bahya mentions also the wars of the children of Jacob with the Emorite kings;† and a long list of parallels is given by Zunz and Jellinek.‡

A fragment of Levi's Apocalyptic vision, and his selection for the priesthood, has been preserved to us by R. Salomo Itzhaki (d. 1105) in his commentary to Gen. xxix, 34; I translate here the short passage: "There is an Aggadic Midrash in Deuteronomy major, that God sent the angel Gabriel and brought Levi up to Him, and He gave him a name, and the twenty-four gifts of the priesthood; and because He accompanied him with gifts, therefore was he called Levi (companion)." Compare Testament Levi, ch. i-v and ch. viii. The selection of Levi for the priesthood is explained in the Book of Jubilees (ch. xxxii, v. 3), \$ by a peculiar counting, in consequence of which Levi was the Tenth, whom he had promised to offer to the Lord. "And in those days Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin, and Jacob counted his sons from him on upwards, and the portion of the Lord fell upon Levi, and his father clothed him with the garments of the priesthood, and filled his hands." An absolutely identical calculation we find in the Palestinian Targum to Gen. xxxii, 25; in the chapters of R. Eliezer, ch. xxxvii, in the Midrash Tanhuma ad loc., || and in fragments of the Jelamdenu published by Jellinek.¶

In the Testament of Reuben we find, ch. vi, the following meaningless sentence: "For to Levi the Lord gave the sovereignty, and to Judah and to me also with them, and to Dan and Joseph that we should be for rulers." A statement which is utterly irreconcilable with the clear words of the Bible, wherein Reuben is deprived of his sovereignty.

In connection with this passage stands another no less hopelessly

^{*} J. Freudenthal, "Hellenistische Studien;" Breslau, 1874, p. 51-53.

⁺ Ed. Venice, 1544, f. 48 a.

[‡] Zunz, "Gottesdienstliche Vortraege," p. 153, and Jellinek, Bet ha-Midrash, III, p. ix-x; xiii-xiv.

[§] Cf. Rönsch, "Das Buch d. Jubilaeen," p. 298, 300, etc.

Cf. Zunz, "Literaturgeschichte d. Synagogalen Possie," p. 24.

[¶] L.c., vi, p. 80, ad Leviticus, xxvii, 32.

corrupt in the Testament of Levi (ch. viii): "And they said to me, Levi, thy seed shall be divided into three branches, for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come, and he that hath been faithful shall be first; no portion shall be greater than his. The second shall be in the priesthood.* The third—a new name shall be called over him, because he shall arise as king from Judah."

These two passages become perfectly clear in the light of the Hebrew Midrash, (Palestinian Targum to Genesis xlix, 3, Genesis Rabba, ch. xcviii, and Midrash Aggadat Bereshit, ch. lxxxii): "Because Reuben had committed that sin (with Bilhah), the three crowns (which were to adorn him) were taken from him and given to his brothers. The crown of the firstborn was given to Joseph (as he got two portions); that of priesthood to Levi, and that of sovereignty to Judah."

With but slight alteration we can emend the text of the Testaments, and they will then give a good sense.

In like manner I could add numberless parallels from the Hebrew literature to the most essential portions of the XII Testaments. After these remarks and proofs there can be no doubt as to the sources of the XII Testaments, and as to their primitive unity with the Book of Jubilees.

It is no less easy to show that far from being written originally in Greek, the Testaments, as we possess them, are an *incorrect* and faulty translation from the Hebrew.

In order to prove this statement, I point out a few of such mistaken translations. The translator must have been only indifferently acquainted with Hebrew, in order to commit such blunders as the following: Simeon, ch. vi, "and save by Him Adam;" καὶ σώζων ἐν αὐτῶ τον Αδαμ, which must have read in Hebrew of man," or Levi, ch. iii: "the ignorances of the righteous," ταῖε ἀγνοίαιε τῶν δικαιῶν, must have read in Hebrew, "ταῖε ἀγνοίαιε τῶν δικαιῶν, must have read in Hebrew, "ταῖε "the sins or the transgressions of the righteous." Levi, ch. viii: "for by their mouth shall the holy place be guarded," in the original stood undoubtedly "τος the usual biblical expression for "according to the command," or "by order of." Levi, ch. ii: "And Korah was born in my thirty-first year, towards the east." The last words have absolutely no sense. In Hebrew stood

^{*} The Slavonic translation has here, "learning."

probably מְלֶּהֶה or מְלֶּהֶה, which means before, or מְלֶּהֶה, first, which the translator took for the more usual מְלֵּהְ , towards or from the east. Ibid: "And Jochebed was born in my sixty-fourth year, in Egypt, for I was renowned then in the midst of my brethren."

This sentence can only be understood if we translate it back into Hebrew, for then the play upon the word כבוד, and the connection between being *renowned* and *Jochebed* become clear, whilst they are totally lost in the Greek.

Similar instances of mistranslations and of allusions which can only be understood properly if translated into Hebrew, can be easily multiplied. I omit them, as we have a much more decisive proof for the Hebrew original, viz., the discovery of an actual Hebrew text of the Testament of Naphtali.

In the light of this text, we shall be able to gauge much better the true tone and tendency of our writing. In the Hebrew text we have undoubtedly the original version of the Testament, free from any interpolation. It is in perfect concord with the character of those ancient pseudo-epigraphical writings.

We find now, what we expected, viz., that those Testaments are strictly circumscribed in their contents. Each Patriarch speaks from his own experience in life, and what there is missing in the biblical recital is supplemented from secondary legendary sources.

The most important event in the life of the greater number of the twelve Patriarchs is their selling of Joseph into slavery. Upon this very theme, and upon their relation to Joseph, expatiate indeed most of them in their Testaments, some extolling Joseph, some disparaging him; some praise his virtues, his consistency, others lay all the blame of the future on Joseph. Judah then speaks of his valour and his mighty deeds, told in the tale of his battles with the Emorites; Levi of his consecration to the Priesthood; Joseph of his own chastity; each one embellishing his narrative with legendary matter.

It is obvious that if this writing was to appeal to the people, and be considered by them as a genuine writing bequeathed from antiquity, it must be in accordance with Holy Writ, and with current oral tradition.

For this very reason one cannot admit the possibility that our Hebrew text might be a translation from the Greek. Even if we should not press the fact that there are blunders and mistranslations—one or two more, and very glaring, will be found in this very Testament of Naphtali—and the dependence of the Testament on Hebrew legendary Midrash; there remains still one very grave objection, which is insurmountable, viz.: that it would be a simple stultification to present the Jewish people with a book whose reputed author is one of the Patriarchs or Moses, and that book was to be in Greek! Abraham or Moses writing in Greek! Why, the thought alone would drive the Jews away from touching the book, still less to believe in its authenticity.

If it was to be accepted as genuine, it must have been written in the sacred tongue of the Bible, otherwise it would have been rejected a limine.

I am surprised that so simple an argument has not yet dawned upon any of the numerous students of the pseudoepigraphical literature. For, either the authors of these writings had a tendency, and were desirous, of influencing the masses, or the whole was a mere play of some idle spirits. The latter alternative is out of the question, and the first could never have been accomplished if the authors would have gone the very way which they had to avoid. A writing which pretends to be the work of one of the Patriarchs, must have been composed in the language of that Patriarch, and not in one loathed, or at least disliked, by the descendants of those Patriarchs. Hebrew is therefore the original language of these Testaments, and the Testament which I have discovered is the real genuine original of the Greek.

The Testament of Naphtali, which I publish now here, is embodied in the great chronicle of Jerahmeel, a MS. of the XIIIth century, of which I have a complete copy. The original is in Oxford, MS. No.

In the same library there is another copy (B) of the XVIth century, greatly inferior to A as far as the accuracy of the text is concerned.

By far the best recension is presented by a MS. of the XIIth century, now in Paris (P), a copy of which I got on the 25th January, 1889. A fourth MS. is in Parma,* 563 De Russi, but this has been inaccessible to me. In 1890 a Testament was printed in Jerusalem (J), by S. A. Wertheimer, which seems to be identical with P.

Of these various MS. I have prepared the present edition,

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^{*} V. Buber, Midrash Shemuel; Krakau, 1823, p. 35, No. 27, and note 21.

taking as basis A, and giving the various readings in footnotes. I have introduced the better readings into the Testament, giving the original corrupted ones in the notes. The translation follows the corrected text.

In comparing this with the Greek version, we are struck by the great disparity between the two. In the Hebrew version, whole chapters of the Greek are missing, whilst in the Greek, the whole of the Hebrew is condensed into four and a half chapters, the contents transposed and mangled almost beyond recognition. The Greek counterpart of the Hebrew makes no sense and has no meaning at all; whilst the Hebrew is rounded off, and complete and perfectly clear.

It is evident that the Greek translator has illtreated his original, and has thus thoroughly changed the tendency of the Testament. One of the most curious mistakes of translation occurs also in this Testament (ch. vi): "And, behold, there came a ship sailing by, full of salted (things, fish?) (μεστὸς ταρίχων)." The translator read the Hebrew text badly: instead of אַבְּלֹצִי he read בְּלֵבֶּל מִינְיִם, and translated the word τάριχος instead of sailor.

It turns out afterwards that the ship was filled with all the goods of the world. Another hand has added then in the Greek the correct translation, "without sailors and pilot."

No less curious and significant is another similar mistake, ch. ii: "the calamus for health," $\kappa \dot{a}\lambda a\mu \sigma \nu \pi \rho \sigma s \dot{\nu}\gamma c \dot{a}\nu$. Sinker himself cannot make out what calamus means. It is a bad translation of the Hebrew $\Box \zeta \zeta$, which means the windpipe. The translator mistook it for $\Box \zeta \zeta$, reed. Hence the "calamus."

The Testament is modelled after the two dreams of Joseph, with characteristic modifications. Instead of giving Joseph preëminence, he is portrayed here as the chief cause of the ulterior schism and ruin. The future of Israel is foretold by the prophetic dreams of Naphtali. The riding of Joseph on the bull is undoubtedly based upon a legendary interpretation of Deuteronomy xxxiii, 1–7. According to a later legend, Joshua rode upon a bull at the conquest of Canaan.

The historical allusions are perfectly transparent. In Hebrew literature we find also parallels to the 70 angels presiding over the fate of the 70 nations.

Very interesting are then the parallels to the last chapter

(Hebrew, Greek, ch. iii) about the functions of the various organs in the body. I have mentioned above the curious mistranslation of the "windpipe. We find a similar description of the organs of the human body in the Talmud (Tractate Berachoth, f. 61a-b). The same passage occurs in the En Ya'akob Berachot, No. 134, but with a slight variation in the order of the organs, the number of which is twelve in these two passages. In a somewhat different order and diminished number we find the same passage in the famous Sepher Yetzira (ch. v, § 2, ed. Ritangelus), in the Othioth de R. Akiba, in two recensions; * the last comes nearest to our text in the Testament. Last, not least, it occurs again in the Cuzari of R. Jehuda ha-Levi (ch. iv, § 25),† who quotes it from the Sepher Yetzira.

The number of organs mentioned in the "Othioth" is that of seven. This seems to be the original number. It stands undoubtedly in connection with the passage of the seven spirits of error enumerated in Testament Reuben, ch. ii and iii, which passage is based on it. We find there, for instance (ch. iii), "the spirit of fighting in the liver and the gall," which is explained by the peculiar characteristic of the angry liver and soothing gall in the Testament of Naphtali. Twice seven organs in the human body are enumerated in the Midrash Tadshe.‡ Again we find seven forms of sin and temptation in the Tana dele Eliahu Zutta, ch. xvi; seven gradations of sin in the Tractate Derech Eretz Zutta, ch. vi, and seven things that cause affliction in the Talmudic Tractate Arachin, f. 17b.

Wherever we touch in the XII Testaments, we find that we are on Hebrew ground. It can therefore no longer be any doubt about the original language in which they were written, nor could any one say any more that, "to know whether there was a Hebrew work on which the present was modelled, is not a matter of much importance;" nor can one doubt the original unity with the Book of Jubilees with the Testament of Naphtali.

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^{*} Ed. Jellinek, i.c., III, p. 35, sub. lit. 3, and p. 42-43, s. littera '5.

[†] Ed. Buxtorff, p. 307 ff.; ed. Hirschfeld, p. 273 ff., and p. xlii, No. 53.

[‡] Ed. Jellinek, l.c., p. 168–169.

This is the Will (Testament) of Naphtali, Son of Jacob.

When Naphtali grew old and came to an old age, and had completed his years of strength, and fulfilled the duty of the earthborn man, he began to command his children, and he said unto them: "My children, come and draw near and receive the command of your father." They answered and said: "Lo, we hearken to fulfil all that thou will command us." And he said unto them: "I do not command you concerning my silver, nor concerning my gold, nor all my substance that I leave unto you here under the sun, nor do I command you any difficult thing which you may not be able to accomplish, but I speak to you about a very easy matter, which you can easily fulfil."

His sons answered and said a second time, "Speak, O father, for we listen."

Then he said unto them: "I leave you no command save concerning the fear of God: Him ye shall serve, to Him ye shall cling."

They said unto him: "What need hath He of our service?"

And he answered: "It is not that God hath need of any creature, but that all the creatures need him. He hath also not created the world for naught, but that His creatures should fear Him, and that none should do to his neighbour what he doth not like for himself.'

They said then: "Our father! hast thou, forsooth, seen us departing from thy ways, or from the ways of our fathers, either to the right or to the left?"

And he answered: "God and I are witnesses that it is even as ye say; but I dread only the future to come, that ye may not err after the gods of strange nations; that ye should not go in the ways of the peoples of the lands, and that you should not join the children of Joseph, only the children of Levi and the children of Judah shall you join."

They said to him: "What dost thou see that thou commandest us concerning it?"

He answered: "Because I see that in the future the children of Joseph will depart from the Lord, the God of their fathers, and induce the children of Israel to sin, and will cause them to be banished from the good land into another that is not ours, as we have been exiled through him to the bondage of Egypt. I will also tell you the vision I have seen. When I was pasturing the

flock I saw my twelve brothers feeding with me in the field; and lo, our father came and said to us: 'My children, go (run) and lay hold here before me everyone on anything that he can get.' And we answered and said: 'What shall we take possession of, as we do not see anything else but the sun, the moon, and the stars?' And he said: 'Take hold of them.' When Levi heard it, he took a staff (rod) in his hands, and jumped upon the sun and rode on it. When Judah saw it, he did in like wise; he also took a rod and jumped upon the moon and rode on it. So also every one of the nine tribes rode upon his star and his planet in the heavens; Joseph alone remained upon the earth.

"Jacob, our father, said to him: 'My son! why hast thou not done as thy brothers?' He answered: 'What is for the womanborn in heaven, as in the end he must needs stand upon the earth?"

"Whilst Joseph was speaking, behold there stood near by him a mighty bull with wings like the wings of a stork, and his horns were like unto the horns of the Reëm. And Jacob said to him: 'Get up, my son Joseph, and ride upon him.'

"And Joseph got up and mounted upon the bull. And Jacob left us. For about four hours Joseph gloried in the bull, now he walked and ran, anon he flew up with him, till he came near to Judah, and with the staff he had in his hands he began to beat his brother Judah.

"Judah said to him: 'My brother, why dost thou beat me?'

"He answered: 'Because thou holdest in thy hands twelve rods, and I have only one; give them unto me, and then there will be peace.'

"But Judah refused to give them to him, and Joseph beat him till he had taken from him ten against his will, and had left only two with him. Joseph then said to his ten brothers: 'Wherefore run ye after Judah and Levi? Depart from them at once.' When the brothers of Joseph heard his words, they departed from Judah and Levi like one man, and followed Joseph, and there remained with Judah only Benjamin and Levi. When Levi beheld this, he descended from the sun full of anger (sadness).

"And Joseph said unto Benjamin: 'Benjamin, my brother! Art thou not my brother? Come thou also with me.' But Benjamin refused to go with Joseph.

"When the day drew to an end, there arose a mighty storm, which separated Joseph from his brothers, so that no two were left together.

"When I beheld this vision, I related it unto my father Jacob, and he said unto me: 'My son, it is only a dream, which will not come to pass (will neither ascend nor descend), for it hath not been repeated.

"There did not pass, however, a long time after that, before I saw another vision. We were standing all together with our father Jacob, at the shore of the Great Sea. And, behold, there was a ship sailing in the middle of the sea without a sailor and a man (pilot).

Our father said to us: 'Do ye see, what I am seeing?' We answered 'We see it.'

"He then said to us: 'Look what I am doing and do the same.' He took off his clothes, threw himself into the sea, and we all followed him. The first were Levi and Judah and they jumped in (to the ship), and Jacob with them. In that ship there was all the goodness of the world. Jacob said: 'Look at the mast and see what is written on it; for there is no ship on which the name of the master should not be written on the mast.'

"Levi and Judah looked up, and they saw there was written: 'This ship belongs to the son of Berachel (the one whom God had blessed)! and all the good therein.' When Jacob heard that, he rejoiced very much, bowed down and thanked God, and said: 'Not enough that Thou hast blessed me on earth, Thou hast blessed me on the sea too!' He then said: 'My children, be men, and what ever each one of you will seize, that shall be his share.'

"Thereupon Levi ascended the big mast and sat upon it; the second after him to ascend the other mast was Judah, and he sat upon it. My other brothers then took each his oar, and Jacob our father grasped the two rudders to steer the ship by them. Joseph alone was left, and Jacob said unto him: 'My son Joseph, take thou also thine oar.' But Joseph refused. When my father saw that Joseph refused to take his oar, he said unto him: 'Come here, my son, and grasp one of the rudders which I hold in my hands, and steer the ship, whilst thy brothers row with the oars until you reach land. And he taught each one of us, and he said to us: 'Thus ye shall steer the ship, and ye will not be afraid of the waves of the sea, nor of the blast of the wind, when it shall rise against you.'

"When he had made an end of speaking, he disappeared from us. Joseph grasped both the rudders, one with the right hand and one with the left, and my other brothers were rowing, and the ship sailed on and floated over the waters. Levi and Judah sat upon the mast to look out for the way (course) the ship was to take. As long as Joseph and Judah were of one mind, so that when Judah showed to Joseph which was the right way, Joseph accordingly directed thither the ship, the ship sailed on peaceably without hindrance.

"After a awhile, however, a quarrel arose between Joseph and Judah, and Joseph did not steer any longer the ship according to the words of his father, and to the teaching of Judah; and the ship went wrong, and the waves of the sea dashed it on a rock, so that the ship foundered.

"Levi and Judah then descended from the mast to save their lives, and every one of the brothers went to the shore to save themselves. Behold, there came our father, Jacob, and found us scattered (distressed), one here and the other there. He said to us: 'What is the matter with you, my sons? Have you not steered the ship as it ought to be steered, and as I had taught you?'

"We answered: 'By the life of thy servants, we did not depart from anything that thou hast commanded us, but Joseph transgressed the word (sinned in the affair), for he did not keep the ship right according to thy command, and as he was told (taught) by Judah and Levi, for he was jealous of them.'

"And he (Jacob) said unto us: 'Show me the place (of the ship).' And he saw, and only the tops of the masts were visible. But lo, the ship floated on the surface of the water. My father whistled, and we gathered round him. He again threw himself into the sea as before, and he healed (repaired) it, and he entered the ship; and he reproved Joseph and said: 'My son, thou shalt no more deceive and be jealous of thy brothers, for they were nearly lost through thee.'

"When I had told this vision to my father he clapped his hands and he sighed, and his eyes shed tears. I waited for awhile, but he did not answer. So I took the hand of my father to embrace it, and to kiss it, and I said to him: 'Oh servant of the Lord! Why do thine eyes shed tears?' He answered, 'My son! the repetition of thy vision hath made my heart sink within me, and my body is shaken with tremor by reason of my son Joseph, for I loved him above you all; and for the wickedness of my son Joseph you will be sent into captivity, and you will be scattered among the nations. For thy first and second visions are both but one. I therefore command you not to unite (combine) with the sons of Joseph, but only with Levi and Judah.

"I further tell you that my lot will be in the best of the middle of the land, and ye shall eat and be satisfied with the choice of its products. But I warn you not to kick in your fatness and not to rebel and not to oppose the will of God, who satisfies you with the best of His earth; and not to forget the Lord your God, the God of your fathers; who was chosen by our father Abraham when the nations of the earth were divided in the time of Phaleg.

"At that time, the Lord, blessed be He, came down from His high heavens, and brought down with Him seventy ministering angels, Michael the first among them. He commanded them to teach the seventy descendants of Noah seventy languages.

"The angels descended immediately and fulfilled the command of their Creator.

"The holy language, the Hebrew, remained only in the house of Sem and Eber, and in the house of our father Abraham, who is one of their descendants.

"On that day the angel Michael took a message from the Lord, and said to the seventy nations, to each nation separately: 'You know the rebellion you undertook and the treacherous confederacy into which you entered against the Lord of heaven and earth, now choose to-day whom you will worship and who shall be your Protector in heaven.'

"Nimrod the wicked answered: 'I do not know any one greater than that (these) who taught me and my nation the languages of Kush!' In like manner answered also Put, and Mizraim, and Tubal, and Javan, and Meseh, and Tiras; and every nation chose its own angel, and none of them mentioned the name of the Lord, blessed be He.

"But when Michael said unto our father Abraham: 'Abram, whom dost thou choose and whom wilt thou worship?' Abram answered: 'I choose and I will worship only Him who said, and the world was created, Who has created me in the womb of my mother, body within body, Who has given unto me spirit and soul, Him I choose and to Him will I cling, I and my seed after me, all the days of the world.'

"Then He divided the nations and apportioned to every nation its lot and share; and from that time all the nations separated themselves from the Lord, blessed be He; only Abraham and his house remained with his Creator to worship Him; and after him Isaac and Jacob and myself.

"I therefore conjure you not to err and not to worship any other God than that one chosen by your fathers.

"For ye shall know, there is no other God like unto Him, and no other who can do like His works in heaven and on earth, and there is none to do such wondrous and mighty deeds like unto Him.

"A portion only of His power you can see in the creation of man, how many remarkable wonders are there not in him. He created him perfect from head to foot; to listen with the ears, to see with the eyes, to understand with his brains, to smell with his nose, to bring forth the voice with his windpipe, to eat and drink with his gullet, to speak with his tongue, to pronounce with his mouth, to do work with his hands, to think with his heart, to laugh with his spleen, to be angry with his liver, to digest with his belly (stomach), to walk with his feet, to breathe with his lungs, to be counselled by his kidneys, and none of his members changes its function, but everyone remains at its own.

"It is therefore proper for man to bear in mind all these things, Who hath created him and Who it is that hath wrought him out of a drop in the womb of the woman, and who it is that bringeth him out into the light of the world, and who hath given him the sight of eyes and the walking of the feet, and who standeth him upright and hath given him intelligence for doing good deeds, and hath breathed into him a living soul and the Spirit of purity. Blessed is the man who does not defile the divine spirit which hath been put and breathed into him, and blessed is he who returns it as pure as it was on the day when it was entrusted to (him by his) Creator."

These, the words of Naphtali, the son of Israel, which he (commended) to his sons; they are sweeter than honey to the palate.

Note.—The Hebrew text will be issued in the next number of the *Proceedings*.



A DETAIL OF GEOGRAPHY IN THE INSCRIPTION OF HERKHUF.

By F. L. GRIFFITH, F.S.A.

The great inscription of the VIth dynasty, copied by Schiaparellifrom the front of the tomb of Herkhuf at Aswân, has already attracted considerable attention; the only other inscription of the ancient Empire to be compared with it in importance is that of Una. Schiaparelli fully recognised its great value, and a few months afterits discovery gave it to the world in the memoirs of the Reale Accademia dei Lincei for 1892. The publication was quickly followed by new translations from the pens of Maspero and Erman in the Revue Critique and the Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Erman contributed a revision of a portion of the text, made with the help of a photograph, to the XXXth volume of the Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache, and Maspero dealt with two passages in the Recueil de travaux, Vol. XIV.

Taken in connection with the inscription of Una, much light is thrown by it on the dealings with Nubia in the early period of Egyptian history. It appears that an officer was sent by the king from time to time on a "mission to Amam," to explore and tradewith the negroes of the west bank of the Nile in Nubia. According to Professor Erman the photograph shows a nome-sign as the starting point of Herkhuf's third expedition to Amam: Erman gives this sign as (approximately), and when we consider the circumstances we can hardly be wrong in identifying it with the nome-sign which was borne by a district divided at a later period into the two nomes of Lycopolis and Cusac.* There are, in fact, three

^{*} The nome of Heracleopolis would suit the sign even better, but on geographical grounds seems less likely.

main ways of reaching the south: one is by boat up the Nile, the second is by land along the river, the third is by the Oases. The river passage was too difficult in the VIth dynasty to be customarily used. In his second expedition (evidently by land) Herkhuf states that he went by way of Elephantine (i.e., the Great Oasis), in the third he "started from Asyût(?) (i.e., the Great Oasis), and finding that the king of Amam was pursuing the Libyans in the far West, followed after him, etc. Herkhuf evidently had a good reason for choosing the western route.

Thus in the name *uhat* we have at length the long-sought origin of the word Oasis, oracs, Oasis, Avasis. It is strange that it is not found again until it appears in Coptic, after an interval of more than 2,000 years. In Egyptian *uhat* would perhaps mean a "caldron," or it might be connected with a root meaning to "cut down" and to "quarry."

In another portion of his inscription Herkhuf is said to have brought a dwarf dancer in the land of the Spirits." This recalls the $\mu a \kappa a \rho w \nu \nu \eta \sigma \sigma s$ of Herodotus, "the island of the blessed" which, according to the old historian,* was the Greek rendering of the native name of an oasis, distant seven days journey through the desert from Thebes. The one name is almost the translation of the other, $\mu a \kappa a \rho w \nu$ being an excellent rendering of $\dot{a}akhu$; and when we remember Herkhuf's expedition to the west, there can be little doubt that he brought his dancer from some tribe in the Libyan desert, if not from the Great Oasis itself.

The friendly relations with the negroes of the South indicated in these inscriptions of the VIth dynasty is very marked. Una's army is largely recruited from them: their kings meet the king of Egypt at the first cataract and "smell the ground in homage to him" (see the graffiti copied by Professor Sayce on the spot, *Rec. de trav.*, XV, p. 147): Herkhuf curries favour with them, and his services obtain recognition from the negro rulers as well as from Pharaoh. The "four tribes" of Uauat, Amam, Arthet and Sethu (Meza?) seem to be hinted at again in the inscription of Ameny at Beni-hasan (XIIth

^{*} Hdt., Bk. iii, cap. 26.

dynasty), but there we hear of the "vile Kush," and Usertesen III loads the negroes with contempt as cowards when he fixes their boundary at Semneh.

It is to be hoped that the coming year may bring a final revision of the copy of Herkhuf's inscription. With the men and means now at the command of Egyptology, there seems no cause for delay where a matter of first-rate importance is concerned. Never has a more creditable piece of work been done than the prompt publication of this wonderful text by its discoverer, but his effort should be followed up by a careful collation of the copy with the original.



THE ROYAL TITLES

I have, for many years past, taught that these titles indicate the sovereignty claimed by Egyptian kings over East and West, just as assert their claim over South and North.

The following passage from the splendid (but, alas! posthumous) work of M. de Rochemonteix on Edfu, p. 34, seems to me to settle the question.

"Horus of Behutit, king of the Two Worlds, ruler of the whole Earth, bearing the on his front; rising in the East as Tmu..., and setting in the West as Uat'it, or "The lacuna now existing after should most probably be filled

The lacuna now existing after should most probably be filled up by nefer; Tmu-nefer being the rising Sun, of whom in this title is the ideogram, as is that of Uat'it.

There was a Uat'it of the East as well as of the West (the morning and evening Greys), and, as the same text informs us, through the gift of these Uræi the king became 'seized' of the Two Worlds as Lord of the East and Lord of the West,

These titles, as a neighbouring text shows, belong not only to Horus but to Hathor, and they do not refer any more than those of and and to political divisions of Egypt, but to the whole universe.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 9th January, 1894, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Rev. Dr. A. Löwy.—Tarshish and Navigation among the Jews.



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Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder
AMÉLINEAU, Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.
Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.
La Morale Egyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.
AMIAUD, La Légende Syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu.
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BAETHGEN, Beitrage zur Semitischen Religiongeshichte. Der Gott Israels und
die Götter der Heiden.
BLASS, A. F., Eudoxi ars Astronomica qualis in Charta Aegyptiaca superest.
BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.
Brugsch-Bey, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler. Vols
I—III (Brugsch).
Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés pa
H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen
of vols. 3 and 4.)
BUDINGER, M., De Colonarium quarundam Phoeniciarum primordiis cun
Hebraeorum exodo conjunctis.
BURCKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
CASSEL, PAULUS, Zophnet Paneach Aegyptische Deutungen.
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862-1873
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Schouw, Charta papyracea graece scripta Musei Borgiani Velitris.

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The first LXIIIB Chapters have already been issued in the *Proceedings*.

The request having been made by a number of friends that this translation, &c., should be issued in a different form, so as to be a separate book, and Mr. Renouf having kindly consented, it is proposed to issue a limited number of copies upon large paper, in numbers, at 5s. each. Members desirous of obtaining copies should at once communicate with the Secretary.

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Parts I, II, III, and IV have now been issued to Subscribers.

In accordance with the terms of the original prospectus the price for each part is now raised to \mathcal{L}_{I} 10s.; to Members of the Society (the original price) \mathcal{L}_{I} 1s.

Society of Biblical Archæology.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XVI. TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION.

Third Meeting, January 9th, 1894.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

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37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

1894.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1893-94.

Third Meeting, 9th January, 1894.

[Anniversary.]

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., PRESIDENT, in the chair.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. De Cara, S.J. Degli Hittim o Hethei e delle loro migrazioni. Chap. vi. 1893. 8vo.

From the Translator:—Rev. A. W. Greenup, M.A., M.R.A.S. The Targum on the Book of Lamentations. Sheffield, 1893. 8vo.

From the Author:—Dr. Grant-Bey, M.A., M.D., LL.D. An Introduction to Ancient Egyptian History. Aberdeen Philosophical Society. Trans., Vol. III, 1893. 8vo.

From the Author:—West-Azie in het licht der jongste ontdekking. Leiden. 8vo. Address delivered at the 318th Anniversary of the University of Leiden, 8th February, 1893, by the Rector-Magnificus, C. P. Tiele.

[No. cxix.]

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 5th December 1893, and elected Members of the Society:—

Major P. H. Hewitt, 25, Argyll Road, Kensington, W. Ludwig Mond, The Poplars, 20, Avenue Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

S. A. Strong, St. John's Road, Putney Hill.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:-

The Library of the Athenæum, Liverpool, G. T. Shaw, Librarian.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 6th February, 1894:—

Rev. Colin Arthur Fitzgerald Campbell, Hartlebury.

Dr. M. Friedlander, Principal of the Jews' College, Tavistock House, Tavistock Square, W.C.

William Izod, The Hawthorns, Church Road, Edgbaston.

Rev. W. E. Oliver, LL.D., The Vicarage, Ealing.

Prince Boris Schakhorskay, 3, Fourschtadstkaia, St. Petersburg. J. Herbert Walker, 55, Fitzroy Road, Regents Park, N.W.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—

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The following have been elected Honorary Members of the Society:—

Prof. Guidi, Rome.

Prof. Sachau, Berlin.

A Paper was read by the Rev. Dr. A. Löwy, Tarshish, and Navigation among the Jews.

Remarks were added by Mr. Marcus Adler, Mr. H. Rassam, Rev. Walter W. Crump, Rev. James Marshall, Mr. Jos. Offord, Rev. T. H. Sutton Moxly, and the President, who expressed his intention of sending a summary of his paper read at the November meeting, to be printed in the next number of the *Proceedings*.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1893.

The Society has again suffered severe loss by the death of several of its honoured and distinguished Members. In my last Report I pointed out that although the number on the Roll of Members had been fairly maintained, it required some effort on the part of each individual Member to increase the number of Members on the list. I am happy to be able to state that this effort has been to some extent made, and I can only hope that the efforts of the Members will be continued. It cannot be pointed out too often that it is only by such assistance that the Council can ever be enabled to extend the operations of the Society; that this assistance also brings advantages to each individual Member, as if generally given it would enable the Council to enlarge the *Proceedings*, and place more material in their hands.

The Twenty-Third Session commenced on the 1st of November, 1892, and was completed in June, 1893, two parts of the *Proceedings* for the succeeding Session being included in the year. During this period a large number of papers have been submitted to the Society, which have equalled those received during former years.

The Society is certainly to be congratulated on the number of interesting papers submitted. Classing them, as in former years, under subjects. I am glad to commence with one of a series of papers the value of which has never been surpassed in any of our publications. At the January Meeting the President continued his Translation and Commentary of the Book of the Dead. Various chapters will be found in the Proceedings for February, March, April, May, June, November, and December, in which Chapter LXX was reached. To the President we have also been indebted for other shorter articles: (June)—The gods Akar and Seb, in which is explained for the first time an interesting point in Egyptian mythology; and a note on the name of Pharaoh. In the January number also appeared a communication from DR. WIEDEMANN, on Cobalt in ancient Egypt. PROFESSOR E. LEFÉBURE, in the same part, commences a series of articles, the first of which is entitled Étude sur Abydos; continued in the June number. In February A. C. BRYANT, B.A., and F. W. READ brought forward some interesting particulars of Khuenaten and his form of worship.

Two very valuable papers have been issued (March and June) from the pen of Brugsch-Pasha, entitled la lumière zodiacale et sa représentation sur les monuments égyptiens.

57 F 2

To Professor Dr. Karl Piehl we have been indebted for the additions to his Notes de Philologie Egyptienne, continued in the June number. In a paper printed in May, F. L. Griffith, F.S.A., continued his former communications by dealing with the Egyptian Weights and Measures, and in the December number he discussed a detail of Geography in the Inscription of Herkhuf. In the May number F Max Müller, under the title of the Story of the Peasant, pointed out the class distinctions existing in Egypt.

The June number, which contains many interesting papers besides those already mentioned, brings the volume to a close. E. Towry Whyte, M.A., in his paper on Pectorals, has brought together a quantity of information on the subject, and the Society is also indebted to him for the care and trouble he expended on the drawings reproduced in the plates illustrating his paper. A. L. Lewis contributed a note on the Pharaoh of the Exodus. G. Willoughey Frazer, F.S.A. gave a series of plates of inscriptions, with descriptions, entitled El Kab and Gebelin. The Rev. C. M. Cobern pointed out a peculiarly sacred posture avoided in ancestor worship, and Dr. M. Spiegelberg gave a list of the Viziers of the New Empire. In November W. E. Crum described some stelæ from Wady Halfa, preserved at Oxford. In the same number F. Cope Whitehouse brought forward those portions of the Moeris Papyrus which have not before been published, and the Society is indebted to him for the plates illustrating his paper.

Of communications dealing with Babylonian and Assyrian antiquities, the first to be mentioned are (January) those by Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel, Gisgalla-ki, Babylon; Ki-nu-nir-ki, Borsippa; and a note on various corresponding signs in the languages of Egypt and Assyria. In May will be found other identifications by the same author, Gishdubarra, Gibil-gamish, Nimrod; a supplementary note appearing in November, and in March a paper on the Ten Patriarchs of Berosus.

The Rev. A. J. Delattre, S.J., continued his translations of the interesting Lettres de Tell-el-Amarna, of which other sections appeared in May and June. In March the Hon. Miss Plunket discussed questions connected with the signs of the Zodiac.

ROBERT BROWN, JUN., F.S.A., in the same number, carried forward his studies in a paper entitled Euphratean Stellar Researches, continued in the June number. Theo. G. PINCHES (June) translated a tablet of some interest, a Babylonian decree that a certain rite should be performed, and W. FRANCIS AINSWORTH, F.S.A., discussed the Achmethas or Echatanas of Western Asia. The Rev. A. Löwy (March) contributed some notes on the Tower of Babel.

Of subjects occupying the border land may be mentioned the paper by the Rev. C. J. Ball, on the origin of the Phænician Alphabet. On the subject of Hebrew writing, the Rev. G. Margoliouth contributed an examination of the Superlinear Punctuation, its origin, the different stages of development, and its relation to other Semitic systems of Punctuation, and in December Dr. Gaster read a paper entitled The Hebrew Text of one of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, in which he translated and explained a manuscript he had recently discovered of very considerable value and interest.

The papers printed in the second part of Vol. IX of the *Transactions* are also of considerable value. The following is a list classed in subjects:—The Rev. Henry George Tomkins: The Topography of Syria, with special reference to the Karnak lists of Thothmes III, and the Karnak lists of Thothmes III, relating to Northern and Southern Syria. The President: The Myth of Osiris Unnefer, and a description of some Religious Texts of the Early Egyptian period, preserved in the Hieratic papyri in the British Museum. F. G. Hilton Pricf, F.S.A.: Notes upon some Egyptian Antiquities in his collection. E. A. W. Budge, Litt. D., F.S.A.: The Fragments of a Coptic version of an encomium on Elijah the Tishbite. Professor E. Amelineau: The Sahidic Translation of the Book of Job. William Simpson, R.I., M.R.A.S.: The Tower of Babel and the Birs Nimroud.

The Series of *Transactions* is now complete. In the Reports of former years I have mentioned that at some future time an Index volume to the whole series would be issued; as it will involve very considerable labour, at the present time I am unable to mention any time for its completion.

This final part of the *Transactions* just issued to the Members, it must be remembered, is an *extra* publication, and has been printed by the Council at the request of a number of Members. It has been a very costly volume to print, as will have been seen from the circular already issued with the last Part of the *Proceedings*. The funds of the Society cannot fairly be expected to bear the heavy cost of its printing, and therefore, as the Members have received an extra amount of publications, it is of course only to be supposed that they will do what is in their power towards defraying the extra expense. Several amounts have already been subscribed, and I can only hope that it will not be necessary for me to refer to this subject again in the future, but that the whole of the amount will be in the hands of the Council during the present year.

The Large Paper edition of MR. RENOUF'S translation, with notes, of the Book of the Dead, of which only 250 copies have been printed, I am happy to be able to report has received most satisfactory support; only very few copies are now unsubscribed for. Parts I and II have already been issued, Part III is in type, and it will be ready for delivery in a few months.

To the President the Society has also been indebted during the past year for a series of lectures upon the Language and Literature of Ancient Egypt. I am happy to say that MR. RENOUF has kindly consented to deliver another series of lectures commencing in April or May next. There will also be a series of lectures by MR. PINCHES upon the Language and Literature of Assyria and Babylonia. These will commence on January the 10th, and be continued each week until the 21st of March. They will be held every Wednesday at half-past four, in the rooms of the Society, and like those of the President will be free. The Archaic Classes, which have been for so long a period in abeyance, are thus revived, and it is the hope of the Council that they will be continued in the future.

The possibility of holding these lectures has arisen from the Society now being in possession of its own house, with a room sufficiently large to accommodate students. During the past year several circulars were issued calling on the Members to assist in the very desirable object of placing the Society's Library and effects in the new house, in a proper manner, without drawing upon the ordinary funds. This to some extent has been attained, for out of the whole number of Members, not one hundred have sent in their subscriptions, and had it not been for the generous assistance given by some, considerable difficulty would have arisen. The Society has passed through what was perhaps the most difficult period since its foundation, and it is to be hoped that the Members will help in carrying it forward with even more success than before. I would ask them to further its interests, which are naturally their own, by every means in their power. There is yet more which requires to be done in order to render the Library thoroughly useful to the Members, and I can only hope that in the next Annual Report, when reference is made to this subject, it may be stated that the Society has paid for its publications, furnished its Library as it ought to be done and has a Roll of Members equal to any emergency.

The books in the Library, with the kind assistance of MR. F. L. GRIFFITH, have been placed fairly in order, and it has been possible to arrange them in subjects. A portion of the catalogue is already made, in the composition of which I again received the assistance of MR. GRIFFITH, and I hope that no great time will elapse before I am able to make a manuscript catalogue of the whole of the books in the Library.

During the past year, besides the Journals received in exchange in former years, the list of exchanges has been considerably extended. The Society has received from many authors and kind friends a number of books bearing on the subjects for the elucidation of which the Society was founded. These presentations are acknowledged in each number of the *Proceedings*, and I can only hope that every Member who issues a book or pamphlet, will remember that by placing a copy in our Library he at once makes it available to a large number of students who otherwise might not have access to it. There being no funds at the disposal of the Council for the purchase of books during 1893, it has not been possible for them to make any purchases or do any binding. It is

to the Members who possess duplicate copies of books that we must look for the extension of the Library.

The audited Statement annexed shows that the funds available for the year 1893 have been £840 11s. 3d., and the expenditure in the like period £699 16s. 2d. The balance carried forward from 1892 was £38 6s. od., and that from the year just completed £140 15s. 1d. Having already referred to the great expense of printing our publications, it surely ought to be unnecessary for me to point out the necessity for the Members liberally contributing towards the requirements which I have endeavoured to explain above.

W. HARRY RYLANDS,

Secretary.

The thanks of the Society were voted to the President, the Secretary, and Officers of the Society for their efforts in behalf of the Society. The best thanks being due to the Secretary for the manner in which he supervised the affairs of the Society, and the time and trouble he freely gave to further its interests.

It was then proposed by Mr. Christy, and seconded by Mr. J. Offord and carried, that the Secretary's Report, with the statement of receipts and expenditure annexed to it, be received and accepted.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31sr, 1893.

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W. J. HAYWOOD. Audited and found correct, 9th January, 1894, Printing and Current Expenses accruing for 1894. Printing Proceedings and Transactions, 1893-94.

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" Balance brought forward ...

Jan I.

37, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C., January 9th, 1894.

E. C. HULME.

W. HARRY RYLANDS, Secretary.

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The Transactions and Proceedings in stock. Reserve Fund for Premises in 2½% Consols.

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BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER LXXI.

Chapter whereby one cometh forth by day. (1)

O Divine Hawk, who comest forth in Heaven, Lord of Mehurit. (2)

Make thou me sound, (3) even as thou hast made thyself sound, who revealest thyself, (4) who disrobest thyself, and presentest thyself to the Earth.

May his will towards me be done by the Lord of the One Face.

I am the Hawk in the Tabernacle and I pierce through [that which is upon] the Vail. (6)

Here is Horus, the Son of Isis: Horus the Son of Isis.

Make thou me sound, even as thou hast made thyself sound, who revealest thyself, who disrobest thyself, and presentest thyself to the Earth.

May his will towards me be done by the Lord of the One Face.

I am the Hawk in the Southern Heaven, and Thoth in the Northern Heaven, who appease the Flame when raging and who convey Law to the god who loveth it.

Here is Thoth: Thoth.

Make thou me sound, even as thou hast made thyself sound, who revealest thyself, who disrobest thyself, and presentest thyself to the Earth.

May his will towards me be done by the Lord of the One Face.

I am Unbu of En-areref, the Flower of the Abode of Invocation.

Here is Osiris: Osiris.

Make thou me sound, even as thou hast made thyself sound, who revealest thyself, who disrobest thyself, and presentest thyself to the Earth.

May his will towards me be done by the Lord of the One Face.

O thou who art upon thy two legs [or who art terrible upon thy two legs], at thine own hour, owner of the Two Twin Souls, and who livest in Two Twin Souls.

Make thou me sound, even as thou hast made thyself sound, who revealest thyself, who disrobest thyself, and presentest thyself to the Earth.

May his will towards me be done by the Lord of the One Face.

O thou who circlest round within thine Egg, Lord of Mehurit.

Make thou me sound, even as thou hast made thyself sound, who revealest thyself, who disrobest thyself, and presentest thyself to the Earth.

May his will towards me be done by the Lord of the One Face.

Sebak standeth erect, surrounded by his high places, and Neith standeth erect in the midst of her alluvial grounds, in order to reveal themselves, to disrobe themselves and to present themselves to the Earth.

May his will towards me be done by the Lord of the One Face.

Oh ye Seven Divine Masters, (7) who are the arms of the Balance on the Night wherein the Eye is fixed; ye who strike off the heads and cleave the necks, who seize the hearts and drag forth the whole hearts, and accomplish the slaughter in the Tank of Flame: ye whom I know and whose names I know, know you me as I know your names.

I advance to you, advance ye to me: live in me and let me live in you. Convey to me the Symbol of Life which is in your hands, and the Sceptre which ye grasp. (8)

Award to me the life of yearly speech through countless years of life in addition to my years of life; countless months in addition to the months of my life; countless days in addition to the days of my life; and countless nights in addition to the nights of my life, that I may come forth and beam upon my own images with breath for my nostrils, and eyes which see, amid those who are at the Horizon, on that day when brute Force (9) is brought to a reckoning.

If this Chapter is known there is well-being on earth with $R\bar{a}$ and a fair abode with Osiris, and the person is glorified in the Netherworld. There are granted to him the sacred cakes and the coming forth into the presence,* in the course of each day, undeviatingly, for times infinite.

^{*} Namely, "of the great god." This ellipse is very frequent.

[1894.

Notes.

- I. The title as here translated is taken from the oldest known MS., that of Nebseni. But the Papyrus Pc, which is of the same period, has "Chapter for entering after going forth by day, and for making transformations in all forms," and this title or a very similar one is found on other papyri. The most recent form is that in the Turin copy—Chapter for coming forth by day and repelling brute Force, so that the person may not be seized in the Netherworld, but that his soul may be made sound in the Ta-t'eserit.
- 2. Lord of Mehurit = Lord of Heaven, that is the Sun-god. The invocation is repeated a little farther on, "O thou who circlest within thine Egg, Lord of Mehurit." The god is also said to be the owner of "the Two Twin Souls," namely Rā and Osiris.
- 3. The verb is here in the second person, not in the first. This is shown by those texts which give the name of the person, instead of the pronominal suffix, as the object of the verb.
- 4. Thyself = Here, in all but the later copies, the pronoun of the third person is used, in accordance with a well known Egyptian idiom.
- 5. Lord of the One Face = $\mu o ro\pi \rho \dot{o} \sigma w \pi o s$ in opposition to $\pi o \lambda v \pi \rho \dot{o} \sigma w \pi o s$, which is an epithet of the Sky, on account of its many changes of aspect. The Moon too has a variety of phases, whereas the Sun is eminently the "Lord of One Face." From another point of view the god, at the beginning of chapter 64, is called the "Lord of Two Faces," the bright and the dark. The Pyramid Texts have the parallel conception of the Two Eyes of Horus, one white and one black,
- 6. This passage receives illustration from the great inscription of Piānchi, who at Heliopolis paid a visit to the great Tabernacle () of the Sun-god, the doors of which he opened and afterwards sealed up with the royal seal. Before going up the steps to it he had to lift the Vail () or Curtains which concealed it, and perform sprinklings and offer incense and flowers. Two important words (of which the first has the interesting variant and the second is written in the oldest texts) are thus made clear.

The god is said, according to the different readings, to pierce "through the Vail" or "through what is upon the Vail."

It will be remembered that the Hebrew Holy of Holies was separated from the Sanctuary by a curtain upon which the figures of Cherubim were woven, that before the curtain of the Holy of Holies stood the altar upon which incense was offered each morn and evening, and that in sin-offerings the priest sprinkled blood seven times before the Vail of the Sanctuary.

They are, I believe, to be identified, like the Seven Rishis of the later Sanskrit literature, with the seven stars of the Great Bear. In this conception the Polar star is represented by Thoth.

8. The Symbel of Life and the Sceptre, the
$$\frac{0}{1}$$
 and $\frac{1}{2}$.

9. Brute Force , see chapter 57, note 5.

CHAPTER LXII.

Chapter whereby one cometh forth by day and passeth through the Ammehit. (1)

Hail to you, ye Lords of Rule, (2) devoid of Wrong, who are living for ever, and whose secular period is Eternity. (3) I make my way towards you. Let me be glorified through my attributes; let me prevail through my Words of Power, and let me be rated according to my merit.

Deliver me from the Crocodile (4) of this Land of Rule.

Let me have a mouth wherewith I may speak, and let my oblations be placed before you; because I know you, and I know your names: and I know the name of that great god to whose nostrils ye present delicacies: Tekmu is his name. And whether he maketh his way from the Eastern Horizon of Heaven, or

^{*} In the Prissi Papyrus this word is to be understood of a scholar or sage, whose word is of authority.

[†] They have human heads on the Louvre Sarcophagus D. 7.

alighteth at the Western Horizon of Heaven, let his departure be my departure, and his progress be my progress.

Let me not be stopped at the Meskat; let not the Sebau have mastery over me; let me not be repulsed at your gates, let not your doors be closed against me; for I have bread (5) in Pu and beer in Tepu. And let me join my two hands together (6) in the divine dwelling which my father Tmu hath given me, who hath established for me an abode above the earth wherein is wheat and barley of untold quantity, which the son of my own body offereth to me there as oblations upon my festivals.

Grant me the funereal gifts, beef, fowl, bindings, incense, oil, and all things good and pure upon which a deity subsists, regularly and eternally, in all the forms I please.

Let me come down or go up to Sechit-aarru and arrive in Sechit-hotep.

I am the god in Lion form.

If this book is learnt upon earth, or executed in writing upon the coffin, he will come forth by day in all the forms he pleaseth, with entrance into his house without repulse. And then shall be given to him bread and beer and flesh-meat upon the table of Osiris. He will come forth to Sechit-aarru, and there shall be given to him wheat and barley there, for he will flourish as though he were upon earth, and he will do all that pleaseth him, like those gods who are there: undeviatingly, for times infinite.

Notes.

This chapter is often found not only in papyri but upon coffins, in accordance with the rubric at the end. The earliest copy is on the coffin of Queen Mentuhotep. A very fine copy is on the alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I, and our museums are rich in funereal monuments inscribed with this ancient text. A very similar text is found at the end of chapter 99.

1. Ammehit is the name given in chapter 149 to the sixth abode in Amenta, but here and in other places it is simply one of the names of the Netherworld. In the inscriptions, for instance, of the tomb of Queen Tita,* "passing through the two folding doors of the Ammehit" is in parallelism with "going in and out of the divine Netherworld."

^{*} Brugsch, Rec., II, pl. 63. The whole tomb has now been published by M. Bénédite in the Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique au Caire, tome 5.

2. Lords of Rule. This is the reading in most documents, but there are others which have an equal claim to authority. The invocation is sometimes made to the "those who are possessed of a ka," that is the "spirits made perfect," those who have already passed through the requisite trials, besides the gods who have never passed through the stage of mortality, all of whom are possessed of a ka.

The invocation, according to another reading, which is that of chapter 99, is addressed to the $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \int_$

- 3. Whose secular period is Eternity. Arch., XIV, 264) which was their aiwn, account, corresponding in idea, not in actual time, to our century. The secular period of the gods is eternity.
- 4. The *Crocodile*. Are we to understand this of the crocodile-headed monster pictured in the represensations of the Psychostasia? These pictures are not known to us from as early a date as the chapter itself, but they may have existed. Perhaps, however, this passage may have suggested them.
- 5. Bread. The Egyptian word ta, like its homonym implies something pierced or perforated. The sacrificial cake in Leviticus viii, 26 has the same meaning and, like a pipe, is connected with the perforavit, confodit, aperuit, profanavit. See Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., 1893, p. 386.
- $\bigcap_{n=0}^{\infty} \prod_{i=1}^{n} ta_i$, a door or gate, and some other homonyms evidently come under the same conception; cf. porta and $\pi\epsilon i \rho w$.

CHAPTER LXXIII is identical with Chapter IX.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

Chapter whereby the legs are set in motion upon earth.

Do what thou hast to do, O Sekaru (twice); as The god who is in his own house, and as The god who standeth on his legs in the Netherworld.

I shine above the Leg (1) as I come forth in Heaven, but I lie helpless with corpselike face.

Oh I faint, I faint, as I advance; I faint, I faint before the teeth of those whose mouth raveneth in the Netherworld.

Note.

1. The Leg. In this place, as in chapter 98 and other texts, a constellation in the northern sky is meant, which many years ago I identified with Cassiopeia.

This constellation, according to chapter 98, is in the Northern sky and in the Great Stream, by which I understand the "Milky Way." This position is also in accordance with the ancient text on the Coffin of Amamu, pl. XXVI, line 22. The Leg is as close to the Pole as the Great Bear (called the Thigh in Egyptian Astronomy) but in the opposite direction, and in consequence of this position it never sets below the horizon. Hence in the Pyramid Texts (Pepi I, 411 and Merenrā 589) it is called the these texts, as in the Book of the Dead (see chapter 86), purification was obtained.

The god \sim (also named among the 42 judges) whose face looks backwards, and who is said to be gate keeper of Osiris, must be a star (e.g. γ Cepheus) in the immediate neighbourhood of the Polar Star which represented Osiris. On the ancient coffins of Amamu and Sit-Bastit there is a chapter* for assuming the form of a Vulture \sim , in which the speaker

says "I am the Vulture god who is on the \mathbb{R}^{m} ."

I suspect that in the formula $\mathcal{O} \setminus \mathcal{O} = \mathcal{O} \setminus \mathcal{O} \setminus \mathcal{O} = \mathcal{O} \setminus \mathcal{O} \setminus$

^{*} It was afterwards incorporated with chapter 149.

CHAPTER LXXV.

Chapter whereby one cometh to Heliopolis and receiveth a seat there.

I have come out of the Tuat: I am come from the ends of the Earth, lighting up the Tank, whither the desires of them who bring salutation guide me. I pass through the noble dwellings of those who are coffined. I open the dwelling of Remrem, I reach the house of Achsesef. (1) I am led on to the noble mysteries, and I enter into the house of Kemkem.

[The Tet amulet (2) layeth its two hands upon me and assigneth me to its sister, and the custody of its mother, Kehkehit, who setteth me upon the Eastern path of Heaven upon which Rā ariseth and mounteth on high each day.

May I too arise, and be led on, and assume the mummied form as a god, and let them set me upon that noble path] whereon Thoth travelleth when he appeaseth the two Combatants (3) as he goeth to Pu and advanceth to Tepu.

Notes.

- 1. These gods are not often mentioned. But we are told in the inscriptions of Rech-ma-rā (Mission Arch. du Caire, V, 127) that Achsesef is master of the (graph) great hall of the Prince of those in Amenta. Cf. Todt., 142, 13 and 21.
- 2. The Tet amulet, has a chapter of its own, chapter 156. Divinity was supposed to reside in this and the other religious symbols, which are often represented in pictures with hands and feet.



The part of this chapter which is within brackets is ancient, but is omitted in late copies.

3. The two Combatants. Sut and Horus.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

Chapter whereby all forms are assumed which one pleaseth.

I have made my way into the Royal Palace, and it was the Bird-Fly (1) who brought me hither.

Hail to thee, who fliest up to Heaven, to give light to the stars and protect the White Crown which falleth to me.

Stable art thon, O mighty god, for ever, Make thou for me a path upon which I may pursue my course.

NOTE.

I. The Bird-Fly, On this god, see Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., 1892, p. 396 and following, and also 1893, p. 135 and following. In the papyrus of Nebseni the name has for determinative an insect, which M. Lefébure has identified with the mantis. This deity, according to ancient texts, was the Tiller of the Rudder of the Neshemit ship of Osiris.



HAT-NUB DE COM

G. WILLOUGHBY FRASER, F.S.A.

§ I. The alabaster quarries of the ancient kingdom are known to us by name from the inscription of Una, an official, who born under the reign of Teta, grew up to hold important offices under the kings Pepi and Mer-n-ra, and they are also mentioned in the tomb of the "Colossus on the sledge" at Der el Nakleh opposite Rhodah.

The monumental stela of Una was found at Abydos, and is now in the Ghizeh Museum (Salle 3, No. 49). Una tells us that he was sent by Mer-n-ra to bring a great block of alabaster, and further he enters into details telling us that he cut it out in 17 days, and whilst this work was going on, he appears to have prepared a boat for its transport, which he says was made of accacia (Shndz), and gives its dimensions as 60 cubits in length and 30 in breadth, which reduced to English measures gives us a very large boat, 104 feet long and 52 feet broad (taking the cubit at 20.8 inches).

That it was a boat, not a raft, we gather from the important scene found by Monsieur Naville this year at Der el Bahari, where the transport of Hatshepsu's obelisks is depicted, large boats being clearly shown.

Una mentions that this work took place in the third month of the inundation, and he was evidently pressed for time, for when he got his boat and block to the port opposite the pyramid of Mer-n-ra at Saqqarah, the inundation had so far fallen that he was unable to get his boats across the basin between the Nile and the western desert. Unfortunately he does not say how he got over this difficulty, so we must leave him there.

The second mention of Hat-nub is at a later date.

In the time of Tehuti-hotep, who lived in the XIIth dynasty, and was buried at Der el Nakleh, we see represented a large statue drawn by groups of men, and an inscription, now unfortunately destroyed, told how a great statue 14 cubits, or nearly 24 ft. 3 in. high, was brought back from Hat-nub amidst the general rejoicing of the

people of the province of Unt (the hare nome). We are left in the dark as to whose statue it was. Baedeker, for some reason I do not follow, says it was that of Kai the *son* of Tehuti-hotep; but Kai was the *father* of Tehuti-hotep, and it does not appear to be stated in the inscription that the statue represented him. It was more likely to represent one of the Usertesen or Amenemhat kings.

The inscription specially mentions the road by which the statue was brought as remarkable, and we shall see the reason of this later on.

§ II. Now having exhausted our references, it only remains to say that the actual position of the quarry was unknown, but it was generally and apparently wrongly supposed to be the alabaster quarries which lie in the eastern hills near Asyût.

Towards the end of December, 1891, the Arabs near Tell el Amarna took Mr. P. E. Newbury, then in the service of the Egypt Exploration Fund, to what they appear to have thought was the tomb of Khu-n-aten, for which he was searching. Instead of a tomb, it turned out to be the largest of the alabaster quarries, and here Mr. Newbury stayed a short while, and noted the names of several kings inscribed on the walls of the entrance passage and on the fallen masses of rock at the foot of the passage inside.

Greatly interested by the description he gave us, Mr. Blackden and myself went there immediately, and stayed some while.

We found besides the cartouches seen by Mr. Newbury, some new ones, and a quantity of hieratic graffiti, and it was from these latter that Mr. Blackden made the important discovery that we had stumbled on the original Hat-nub of Una. Leaving the great quarry, we made a sketch map and explored the surrounding hills, and found a number of uninscribed alabaster workings, and one small quarry containing a number of stelæ and graffiti, chiefly of the XIIth dynasty.

We were unable to spend more time, so the copying had to be left till later, and it is with the results of our third expedition that I wish to deal.

This last was undertaken in order to accurately copy as much as was visible, and so we camped in the great quarry and worked from sunrise to sunset for eight days.

As we were about five hours distant from the cultivation, it was necessary to send back a camel every night for water, and if our provisions had not run short we should not have come back so soon.

Our first proceeding was to secure the hieratic, and the method employed was as follows: The general surface was too rough to allow of their being traced entirely, so the position of the signs was indicated on a narrow strip of tracing paper, and the complete line or part of a line was then carefully filled in by hand. By this means we were able to secure all the more important hieratic graffiti.

The cartouches in the entrance passage were then traced or copied; some of them were squeezed, though scarcity of water prevented us doing this in every case. The net result was a collection of hieratic graffiti, seventeen in number, and the cartouches of Chufu, Meri-ra (Pepi), Nefer-ka-ra (Pepi), Mer-11-ra, and a new king, Ḥor-sam-chnum (?), belonging perhaps to the IXth or Xth dynasty.

§ III. Before entering upon the inscriptions, it may be as well to describe the place where they were found.

The great quarry is an immense circular pit, like an English chalk-pit; it is over 100 feet deep and 40 or 50 yards in diameter. There is only one entrance, a sloping cutting with perpendicular sides entering the northern side.

This cutting is now encumbered with rubbish to a considerable depth, and the quarry itself is very much filled up; a large part of the latter must have been roofed in, but the rock ceiling has with one small exception fallen in everywhere. And it is evident that it fell in even when work was still going on there, as there is an XIth or XIIth dynasty inscription on one fallen mass, and a dated VIth dynasty inscription on another. Hence the fall appears to have taken place between the IVth and VIth dynasty times. The bottom of the pit is covered, so that it is impossible to say how deep the works were originally carried without a good deal of excavation.

The main collection of graffiti are on the western side, and have been protected by the overhanging wall of rock above them.

Those of the VIth dynasty are now only eighteen inches or so above ground, and there are probably others buried; the XIIth dynasty ones are higher up the wall, showing that in the intermediate period the level of the ground was raised by successive falls of débris.

The eastern side of the quarry is the deepest and clearest, and near the bottom is the dated XIIth dynasty inscription No. 4, so that perhaps this was the latest part worked.

The southern side is covered up to half the height by a great slope of *débris*. The centre is filled with huge fallen masses, some

of which near the entrance cutting are inscribed, and the mass of rubbish slopes from the cutting down to the centre and eastern sides.

Coming out of the quarry we find the workmen's houses, built of boulders, and a few cairns, probably graves. The ground is strewn with fragments of pottery; the majority of these fragments are in rough red pottery, a good deal weathered, the forms of which, where the pieces can be put together (as occurs in the case of jars broken outside or left inside the ruined workmen's houses) are similar to the XIIth dynasty shapes, as we know them from the work at Kehun, and the drawings in tombs.

But in the main camp above mentioned there are many pieces of bowls in a fine dark red glaze, the shape and material being the same as those which Professor Petrie found at Mêdum, and which appear also to have been found by Rhind at the Ghizeh pyramids.

It is much more difficult to restore the forms of this earlier pottery, as the quarry has of course been worked up to the XIIth dynasty, when the works seem to have stopped, for there is little or no XVIIIth dynasty pottery, and only a few ribbed pieces of late Roman or Coptic, probably left there by salt diggers. I should imagine that the hard glazed red bowls were common from the earliest times till the decadence and fall of the VIth dynasty, new styles coming in in the XIth and XIIth dynasties, lasting into the early XVIIth dynasty, when they in their turn gave way to the forms commonly known as XVIIIth dynasty, which are met with till the end of the XIXth and beginning of the XXth, etc., etc. Of course, in dating by pottery, a hard and fast rule is only applicable in very exceptional cases. Examples of forms thought to belong exclusively to one period may and do turn up in a totally different one, and are difficult to deal with on this account. The main camp seems to have been on the western side on the very edge of the pit, not a nice position for a dark night; from it the ground slopes up to the west over a level plain, with scattered houses and curious constructions built of boulders with little paths worn up to them, (?) ovens.

The plain ends at the foot of a long low hill of remarkable form; on either end of the summit are cairns of stones, similar to those called in Scotland and Switzerland "Stone men," and from them is visible the great cairn which marks the position of the smaller XIIth dynasty quarry, which is separated from the hill by a broad flat valley and the slopes of the hills on either side.

Descending the slope and crossing the valley we climb up a

narrow pass with several small alabaster workings, which are however uninscribed, and finally reach a sort of basin in the hills with an outlet on its western side leading into the great Darb-el-Amarani, the principal pass in the hills here.

The XIIth dynasty quarry is situated in the S.W. corner of this basin, and will be described a little further on.

The quarries are connected with the Nile Valley by two carefully chosen roads; the main one passes the great quarry 50 yards or so to the east, and goes on a little further into the desert, where it disappears; its junction with the cutting is not clearly defined.

These roads, and especially what we may call the lower one, are excellently engineered, the contours are followed as far as possible to give easy gradients, and where the neck of a valley is crossed the road is carefully banked up with boulders; the largest embankment is 15 feet high or more, and is built with a proper batter on the face; it is partly destroyed now by the rains, but looks as if it had been enlarged at some time or other, as there are two finished batters, one within the other.

The Bedouin know these roads, and call them the "Darb-el-agl," or the pass of the wheel, to this day.

The main road winds along for three hours' journey till it reaches the edge of the Tell-el-Amarna plain, and a great slope, now much ruined, led down from the hills to the plain; the road crosses the plain in the direction of Hadj Kandel, which perhaps marks the site of the ancient river port.

The roads certainly merit the praise bestowed on them in the inscription of Tehuti-hotep before mentioned.

§ IV. Let us now return to the small quarry. It is entered by a long low opening, the roof gradually rising in height, till it forms a kind of dome. Here the whole area was roofed, the work being entirely subterranean, but a large part in the centre of the roof has fallen in, and brought with it such a mass of débris that it and the occasional rains have filled up the interior almost half its original depth.

The stelæ are all round the walls, and number over 28. They are nearly all painted or written in black ink, but there is one well cut one on the eastern wall representing Usertasen III seated before a table of offerings, and his four dogs. He is called the "Royal son," not king, so it must be a monument made before he was called to share his father's throne. The tablet was cut for or by a man named Ameni, whose title is not very clear.

On the western wall the most important is a carefully painted stela dated in the 20th year of Amenemhat II, but here the name of the writer is destroyed.

On what may be called the architrave of the entrance doorway there are eight figures or inscriptions, which beginning on the left or southern end are (1) a dog, (2) a hawk, (3) the name of Teta with a man standing behind it, (4) obliterated, (5) name reading Teta again, (6) king's head in the war helmet, (7) a quarry mark (?), (8) the name of Teta and a figure standing and two lines of very weathered inscription, from which I made out that it was cut by a superintendent of the transports, whose name is unfortunately illegible. All these outside inscriptions are cut. The name of Teta does not occur in a cartouche, but may *perhaps* refer to the VIth dynasty king, which would bring back the date of the quarry considerably.

On the other hand the only dated inscription is of the XIIth dynasty, and the style of the others is the same as those which we believe to be either XIIth or XIIth dynasty in the "Great" quarry.

In point of size this quarry is much smaller than the "Great" quarry, but it is now so filled up that it is difficult to estimate the original size. Doubtless we see in it what the latter was originally like before the roof fell in.

The pottery fragments scattered about inside and out consist chiefly of rough red dishes and jars, the shapes of which are identical or similar with the forms which Professor Petrie found in the XIIth dynasty town of Kehun, in the Fayum. There are however a limited number of white faced fragments similar to those common on the plain of Tell-el-Amarna, and a very few bits of late Roman or Coptic pottery.

§ V Now let us turn back to the Great quarry, and glance at the inscriptions; and first we will take the kings' names and inscriptions dated in kings' reigns. The first name occurs at the top of the great cutting in the western wall; it consists of the cartouche of Meri-rā, with his banner name of Meri-taui; he was the first of the kings bearing the name of Pepi, and according to Wiedemann, the second king of the VIth dynasty. This inscription is undated.

Below it is a cartouche of an unknown king, which seems to be Hor-sam-chnum, with a line of weathered inscription in which only the signs $\iiint \chi ent$ and $\searrow sh$ are visible, perhaps part of the title of "chief gardener." This king I am inclined to place in the IXth or Xth dynasty (cf. Livre des Rois, 113, 117, 122).

Next we come to a large well cut cartouche of Khufu, with his banner name, which has been destroyed; the whole is much defaced.

Further on, on the same wall, is the name of Nefer-ka-ra, and his banner name Neter Kāu; this is Pepi II, who is credited with a reign of 100 years by Africanus, and came 4th in the list of monarchs of the VIth dynasty. The last stela in the cutting has a banner name of $\bar{A}n\chi$ - χ a-u, and the cartouche shows only the ra and part of an n at the bottom, but this is sufficient to identify it with Mer-n-ra, Wiede mann gives this king a further name of Hor-em-saf or Ment-em-saf.

A line below the stela contains the date, but is so destroyed that only "day 5" can be made out; this is a pity, as mentions of this king are very rare.

A complete line on the stela gives the title, "Great lord of Beḥedu, the good god lord of the two lands."

This king appears to have reigned between the two Pepi's.

Entering the quarry, the next stela is a well cut one, on a fallen mass of rock near the centre; it is dated in the 25th year of Meri-ra (Pepi I); it was cut by or for a noble of the Unt nome, whose name seems to have been $\bar{A}n\chi$ -ses, and his father's name χ au.

On the same block just beyond the last mentioned inscription some one has scratched thirteen lines, which seem to have no connection with it.

The writer says, "I am (one) loved of his (siè) lord, praised of his town, I am the superintendent of the great affairs , devoted to the officer. I am the superintendent in its entirety (over all) in the place (?) of quarrying (?) ," and which Mr. Blackden has pointed out to me, that these rough scrawls look as if they had been made by some one, perhaps a prisoner, caricaturing the ordinary strings of titles, and in the last line it certainly looks as if he had said he was "the chief of wickedness or of the wicked!"

All the rock to the north of these inscriptions is covered with little figures of men standing or sitting, with two or three short inscriptions very difficult to make out; one more legible than the others appears to record *Tehutihtp's* son *Sebekhtp*, but his title is not clear; probably these figures represent various chiefs or gangers of workmen who were sent there to look after the men.

Near this is another cartouche of Meri-ra (Pepi I), and on the left hand side of it, but separated from it by a line cut in the stone, are the titles of a XIIth dynasty official, *Tehuti Ne\chi t*'s son *Tehuti Ne\chi t*.

We find that he was "a prince, wielder of thrones (?), chief of the priests, great one of five, great chief of Unt." Now these titles are very high ones, and are borne complete at Der-el-Nakleh only by Tehutihtp, the owner of the tomb commonly called "the Colossus on the sledge tomb." He was a "great one of five," but the other people buried there, as far as I can recollect, were not. Sep and Aha Next have all the other titles, and also I think Tehuti Next the son of Nehera.

At Der-el-Nakleh we have several people named $Tehuti\ Ne\chi t$, and at Sheik Saïd we have a man named $Tehuti\ Ne\chi t$ whose mother was Teta; he repairs an older tomb of the VIth dynasty. Unfortunately we cannot identify the exact man, though he was probably one of the people buried at one of these two places.

Leaving the fallen blocks, let us turn to the north wall of the quarry. Close to the eastern side of the entrance we came upon the cartouche of Nefer-ka-ra (Pepi II) three times repeated in inscriptions. but only one of them is clear. It is written in hieratic in red ink on a smooth surface a few inches above the present ground level, and it was in this inscription we first found the name of Hat-nub; the date is unfortunately defective, but we can make out two tens in the years; it seems to have been written by a man named Khumhtp, who was sent to the quarry, but the object is not clear. A little further on is an inscription dated in the 14th year of Pepi II, whose banner name only is given. The writer here seems to have gone to Hatnub accompanied by the officer of the road and the chief of Unt to cut out four tables of offerings, but for whom, and what his name was we are not certain. Going east we come to an inscription to the right of the above. It is undated, but it contains the cartouche of Seneferu, the last king of the IIIrd dynasty; it is unfortunately in poor condition, and the meaning not clear, but it seems to have been written by the style by some one in the VIth dynasty. Next we have to go down the slope of débris to nearly the bottom of the quarry, where on the east wall an inscription in large red letters tells us that Amenemhat son of Nehera was sent in the 30th year of xeperka-ra (Usertasen I) on the day of the Sed festival, to get alabaster for the king, and further on he mentions a statue which was apparently his object. We learn also that his mother's name was Satudz-hotep, and his grandfather's Kai.

The Sed festival mentioned in the first line of the inscription is known to us even as early as Pepi, but I do not recollect mentions of it in the XIIth dynasty. We hear of it, however, under Amenhotep III, Rameses III, and Osorkon II, as has been lately pointed out by Monsieur Naville (*Egypt Exploration Fund Memoir*, X, p. 6, pl. VI). The above brings us to the end of the inscriptions dated in kings' reigns. Such inscriptions are as a rule less common than mere names, and hence it is not surprising to find that the greater number of graffiti bear no such date, but in this particular case we have nearly all the remaining inscriptions dated in the reign of the nomarch, and this appears to me to be an important exception, as it tends to emphasize the feudal nature of the government at the time, and also throws further light on the long wars which we read were waged by Amenemhat the Ist against the nobles and petty princes before he was acknowledged king of the entire two lands.

Here it may make matters clearer to give a list of inscriptions in this group arranged by dates.

							No.
VIth ye	ar of	Nehera					 ΙI
VIIth	12	Nehera,	born	of Ker	na		 9
VIIIth	>>	Nehera	,,	Ken	n a		 14
Vth	,,	Kai					 7
VIth	,,	Kai					 8
(5)	29	Kai			• • •	• • •	 I 2
IVth	22	Aha-neχ	(t				 13
XXth	,,	Aha-ne χ	t		• • •		 2A

The remaining graffiti in this group are not dated in any way, they are—

- No. 1. Tehuti-ne χ t, born of Tehuti-hotep.
 - 2. Short inscription mentioning Thoth, lord of *Chmenu* (Ashmouneen).
 - 5A. Short inscription mentioning Hat-nub; name uncertain.
 - 13A. Tehuti-ne χ t and his son; merely names.

It would occupy too much space to enter largely into particulars of the above, but a few remarks may be useful.

Generally speaking the style of the inscriptions seems to be a kind of self-glorification, such as we see in the long doorway inscription in the tomb of Ameni at Beni Hasan. The writer says he "was sent to Hak-nub to get alabaster for the house of the king;" he mentions that he was "beloved of his town," and that he was "its defence in the day of battle;" that he "protected the widow," and did "not oppress the miserable (poor)."

And often the inscription ends by referring to a statue which it is stated the writer cut out, and which reached "its house" in safety. These events happened, the scribe informs us, "in the days of Nehera, the son of Kema," or in the days of some other nomarch.

It is difficult to show the connection between the nomarchs mentioned at Hat Nub and those buried at Dêr-el-Bersheh, but it seems likely that the Nehera, son of Kema, of the graffiti, and the Nehera, son of Kema, who was buried at El Bersheh, were one and the same person. If this be true, it follows that the Kai of the graffiti was probably the Kai, father of Tehutihtp, whom we find mentioned at the tomb of the latter: Tehutihtp himself, we know, brought a great colossus from Hat-Nub. If these identifications are true, it is probable that the mass of the graffiti are XIth dynasty, or slightly anterior to the XIIth dynasty.

It is impossible to enter further into details about these inscriptions here, but they certainly seem worth working out properly.

Before bringing these notes to a close, I must mention that below the XIIth dynasty inscriptions described above there are several written in very large characters which by the cartouches seem to be much earlier. They are more weathered than the XIIth graffiti above, but one contains the cartouche of Teta of the VIth dynasty, and near it is a larger cartouche of Teta with his banner name beside it, which I believe to have been previously unknown; in the example we have here, it reads Se-hotep-taui.

This brings us to the end of the principal graffiti, there are doubtless others, and if the great entrance passage were cleared we should probably find other stelæ and kings' names; but owing to the distance from the river this work would entail considerable expense, and is not likely to be done at present.

Note.

Since writing the article on Gebelên and el-Kab, I ublished in the last *Proceedings* (Vol. XV, Pt. 8), Monsieur Brugsch has kindly shown me a piece of a statue found at Gebelên, apparently part of the shoulder of a statue of a king bearing the cartouches of the Hyksos king User-n-ra, Kian who was first made known to us by Monsieur Naville's excavations at Bubastis. This seems further to support the theory I then advanced, namely, that the Hyksos actually held Gebelên and El-Kab, at any rate for some time.

THE HEBREW TEXT OF ONE OF THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

I venture to offer a few remarks on the Greek of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs; first acknowledging the important service which Dr. Gaster has rendered to Biblical Archæology. It is a great gain to have proved, what was before inferred, that the Testaments have been interpolated and adapted by a Christian writer.

This fact, coupled with the very acute and penetrating observations which preface Dr. Gaster's paper, is an invaluable guide to the understanding of the not inconsiderable body of Judæo-Christian literature.

In addition to the mistakes which Dr. Gaster has so ingeniously detected, the occasional parallelisms and the frequent use of 'all—not' for 'not any,' and such like, betray the translator's hand. To this may be added a certain stiffness in places, and some phrases which are unintelligible as they stand, but give the impression that there is a meaning behind them.

The style of the Testaments is very similar to that of the Gospels. Points of resemblance which may be specified are the vocabulary, the absence of rhetorical colour, the paucity of conjunctions and particles, the frequent insertion of the unemphatic pronoun $\alpha \hat{v} \tau o \hat{v}$, &c., and the occurrence of $\hat{\epsilon}_{P}$ in an instrumental sense.

The book presents a very curious contrast. The writer is a man of ability, and has a command of the language which he employs. He is at home in the use of compounds; he sometimes arrests attention by a bold and happy innovation. For instance, eis $\tilde{a}v\hat{c}\rho a$ $\hat{v}\pi o\kappa\rho\nu\dot{v}\dot{\rho}\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma s$, applied to the appearance of the Godhead in the form of man, is a masterly expression, and, as far as I know, quite unique. $\hat{E}\lambda\epsilon\nu\partial\epsilon\rho w\tau\dot{\eta}s$ is also a successful variation of the terms ordinarily used to denote Saviour and Redeemer. On the other hand, uncouth forms of words are found, and also some solecisms in grammar. This contrast is still more strongly ex-

hibited in the Book of Revelation. In many parts, as for instance in the Woes on Babylon, the language is as pure as it is rich and noble, while the extraordinary defiance of grammatical rule in some few passages has been all along the perplexity of commentators. The Septuagint also, in parts, presents the same phenomenon of a grasp of language combined with a most anarchichal syntax. An explanation may perhaps be found in the following passage, taken from Mr. E. M. Geldart's book on the Modern Greek Language:—

"The phraseology of the Septuagint is modern to an extent which is quite marvellous when compared with that of contemporary writers, and only explicable by the assumption that the writers are using the common vernacular, which had already become in its spirit and essence much what modern Greek now is."

In justice to the argument and the author, the whole section, or rather the whole book, should be read.

The linguistic argument, therefore, points to the same conclusion as that at which Dr. Gaster has arrived from other considerations, namely, that this class of literature is popular literature. The visions of the Patriarchs, like the visions of our own Piers Plowman, being intended for the commonalty, would naturally be written in the vulgar tongue, so far as the theme permitted.

The Koran seems to have had a reverse history. Mr. Palgrave states that the language of the Koran is that spoken at the present day in Djebel Shomer and Upper and Central Nejed; the isolation of those countries having apparently kept their speech unchanged since the time of Mahomet. In this case, therefore, a vernacular dialect has become the standard of literary Arabic.

One or two words may be discussed which are of general use in all this class of literature, including the $\Delta \iota \ell a \chi \dot{\eta}$. Of these $\ell \iota \psi \iota \chi \dot{\iota} \dot{\iota}$, double-mindedness, is very noticeable. It has a wide range of meaning, which includes both moral insincerity and cowardice, and also doubtfulness in prayer. In this, as in so many cases, Christianity deals with the thought of the time. The double-minded man is censured by St. James. $\Delta \iota \psi \iota \chi \dot{\iota} \dot{\iota}$ in its first meaning is condemned in the person of him who would serve two masters, or who puts his hand to the plough and looks back. "Whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer believing, ye shall receive," and "Let a man ask in faith, nothing wavering," are commands answering to the second meaning. It may be remarked that faith is commended as a theological virtue in this apocryphal literature as well as in the Christian Scriptures.

The prevalence of the word $\partial v \psi v \chi' \alpha$ is a history in itself. It implies the recurrence of periods of persecution, when men's sincerity was tried by fear of suffering and death. Jew as well as Christian encountered this ordeal; and the Testament of Benjamin holds out the 'crown of glory' as the reward of constancy.

The way, obos, the right way, contrasted more or less in detail with the wrong, is another common place of frequent occurrence. The admirable allegory of Cebes had popularized the same figure in the Grecian world. 'The broad and narrow way' will suggest itself to every reader of the New Testament, who will also see a new significance and a more pointed reference in the declaration "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life."

Another idea not quite so often repeated, namely, that the order, $\tau \dot{\alpha} \xi \iota s$, of creation is a pattern of the obedience and self control which should reign in man's moral nature, is again a link between East and West. It is well known that the Stoics and Eclectics of the day regarded this moral imitation as a main part of their fundamental principle of living according to nature. The Testament of Nephthali speaks of God as having made all things fair in order, which order is specially traced in the structure of the human body. St. Clement, a simple minded man, rises almost to sublimity in a highly elaborated description of the manifold harmonies of creation. St. Paul, in declaring "God is not a God of disorder," appeals to an axiom familiar to and accepted by his hearers.

The idea is to be traced back to the Sacred Book of the Izaniens, and indeed to the Vedas: as appears by the following quotation from Dr. L. H. Mill's article on Zoroaster in the current number of the *Nineteenth Century Review*. "Asha, the Vedic Rita, is the divine Order, the symmetry and perfection in the ritual and the soul, and at the same time a poetically personified archangel."

The writer of the Greek version of the Testaments seems to have been familiar with some, if not all, of the books of the New Testament. The correspondences of matter and wording are too frequent and too close to be explained by the consideration that writers dealing with similar subjects would use similar language. The proof of this assertion would be long and tedious. One or two correspondences shall be selected, which are interesting in themselves.

"He that is washed $(\lambda \epsilon \lambda o \nu \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu o s)$ needeth not save to wash $(\nu \iota \psi a \sigma \theta a \iota)$ his feet." Levi (Test. 9) represents the angel as giving him this command: "Before thou enterest the Holy Place, bathe

($\langle vi\sigma v \rangle$), in sacrificing wash ($vi\pi\tau\sigma v$), in finishing the sacrifice wash ($vi\pi\tau\sigma v$).

The evil spirit is mentioned under the names $\sum_{\alpha \tau a v \hat{u} s}$, $\delta_{i} \dot{u} \beta_{0} \lambda_{0} s$, and $B \epsilon_{\lambda} \dot{u} \dot{a} \rho$, the last being called the spirit of the air, corresponding to the "prince of the power of the air."

Joseph adds to the Biblical account, that the Egyptian woman heard him singing hymns to the Lord in the house of darkness; as Paul and Silas were overheard also singing hymns by the prisoners at Philippi. This incident is in harmony with the practice of pious men of the period. According to Philo, when the Alexandrian Jews had a breathing time from persecution after the seizure of Flaccus their governour, they consumed the whole night in hymns and sacred songs.

The second dream of Nephthali recalls the walking on the sea, the stilling the storm, and the shipwreck of St. Paul. There is the ship and the boat, the squall $(\lambda a \hat{\iota} \lambda a \psi)$, the driving before the wind $(\hat{\iota} \phi \epsilon \rho \hat{\iota} \mu \epsilon \theta a)$, the filling of the ship, the escape on boards $(\hat{\epsilon} \pi \hat{\iota} \ \sigma a \nu i \sigma \nu)$, the sudden calm, and the immediate arrival of the ship at the shore—which last incident is mentioned only by St. John in the Gospels. The discovery of the Hebrew text proves that the dream is an interpolation. Probably there is in it a mixture of borrowed incidents, exemplifying the poverty of invention which Dr. Gaster has so acutely noted as characteristic of this class of literature.

The ring of these words of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted $(\epsilon \lambda \iota \theta \dot{u} \sigma \theta \eta \sigma a v, \epsilon \pi \rho i \sigma \theta \eta \sigma a v)$," fastens itself on the memory of the reader. It seems echoed in the word $\epsilon \dot{\phi} v \lambda_{\alpha} \kappa i \sigma \theta \eta v$, $\epsilon \tau v \pi \tau \iota \sigma \theta \eta v$ (sic) $\epsilon \dot{u} v \kappa \tau \eta \rho i \sigma \theta \eta v$, occurring in a somewhat similar context of the Testament of Joseph.

These selected coincidences, the designation of the Messiah as the Lamb of God—the Lamb without blemish—as coming as a man and eating and drinking with men; of the Holy Spirit as witnessing and accusing; the expressions, "By doing good he overcomes the evil man," "I kept $(\sigma v \nu e \tau \dot{\eta} \rho o v \nu)$ these words in my heart," with many others, imply a familiarity with the text of the New Testament, and not merely a general acquaintance with the history and doctrines of Christianity.

Very truly yours,

J. Marshall.

THE GOD SET OF RAMESSU II AND AN EGYPTO-SYRIAN DEITY.

By F. L. GRIFFITH.

On Plate XI of Nebesheh and Defenneh, published by the Egypt Exploration Fund, are given copies of the inscriptions engraved upon a closely-draped crouching statue in black granite, which was found in the larger temple at Tell Nebêsheh. The statue represents a royal charioteer named Merenptah, and upon the lap between the hands is the cartouche of Ramessu II, apparently as a deceased king. The date of the monument is therefore in the XIXth dynasty. On the front of the garment had been sculptured figures of two deities facing each other, with short inscriptions above; of these two deities, the upper part of one is erased, together with the inscription, the other is the local goddess Uazyt (Buto) of Amt. The copies used in the publication were made from squeezes taken while the statue still lay in the trench, and the erased figure was indistinct in them; the only noticeable peculiarity was an appearance of ties on the edge of his garment.

Before the last sheets of the memoir on Nebêsheh were returned to the printer, the statue arrived at the British Museum, and was placed in the portico: the original, when examined, showed a trace of sculpture, which seemed to me to be part of a figure of a child, behind the feet of the erased deity. This suggestion I noted in the Errata on p. 112, but a second inspection in a better light, before the statue was despatched to its final destination at Boston, showed that the line was the end of a rope that could be indistinctly traced to the top of the head-dress of the deity.

A very similar figure with the enormous pigtail (?) or rope (?) pendent from a tall head-dress occurs on the famous stela of 400 years found by Mariette in the Temple of San, and known by his copy published in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1865, Plate IV,

87 н

and p. 169.* The figure in this case appears to have been in perfect condition, and the inscription gave the name when we see the same with th

"Set son of Nut." The latter shows that the "Set of Ramessu II"

was identified with the ancient Egyptian deity Set.

Tanis is only 12 miles from Nebesheh, and both of the monuments are of one age: there can therefore be no doubt that the figure at the former place represented Set. The sacerdotal titles of the vizier who adores him on the stela of 400 years are "high priest of the Mendesian god, chief priest of Set and lector of Uazyt Upt-taui," while at Nebesheh the erased Set faces Uazyt, who is likewise named Upt-taui on another monument from the ancient Amt.

There are two other figures of allied types which deserve being prominently brought before the notice of Egyptologists.

(1.) In the year 1889 the Rev. W. Macgregor, of Tamworth, obtained at Zagazig a small plaque of glazed steatite, which he kindly allowed me

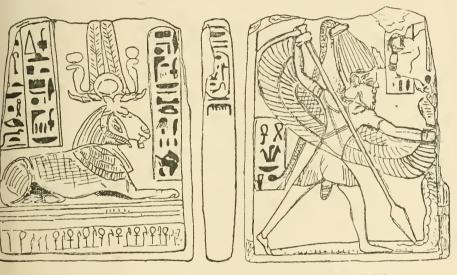
to copy. The top was rounded, and on one side is the name of Rameses II; the other side is imperfect.

Each face is engraved with a scene enclosed within a narrow border. On one face is a ram-headed sphinx reclining upon a sculptured base, and wearing a head-dress consisting of the horns, disk, and feathers with two uraei. The inscription, blundered and indistinct, gives the name of this ram as

^{*} Lanzone, Dizionario, p. 1144, and Pl. CCCLXXXI. The figure of the god from this stell is shown in the annexed woodcut, copied from the Rev. Arch., I.e.

"Amen-Ra, king of the gods, lord of (some locality (?))" This criesphinx is therefore the rare Reheni of Amen, known on monuments of Amenhotep III, and the original of Jupiter Ammon.

On the other face is a wonderful deity, winged, and piercing a serpent with a large spear. His features are those of Bes, his head-dress is conical, reeded, and perhaps actually made of a bunch of reeds tied together, while from the top of it hangs a thick rope to the knee. Unhappily, the name of the strange god is hopelessly mutilated by a fracture of the stone. The figure reminds one of some representations of Sept, the god of the East, but



STEATITE PLAQUE IN THE COLLECTION OF REV. WILLIAM MACGREGOR.

its head-dress and its association with the name of Rameses suggest that it was a form of Set with some of the attributes of Horus.*

2. A few weeks ago Mr. A. W. Franks obtained from Beirût a statuette of bronze plated with silver, said to have been found on "low hills in which the Lebanon range terminates near Tyre." It is remarkable both in type and workmanship. It represents a deity

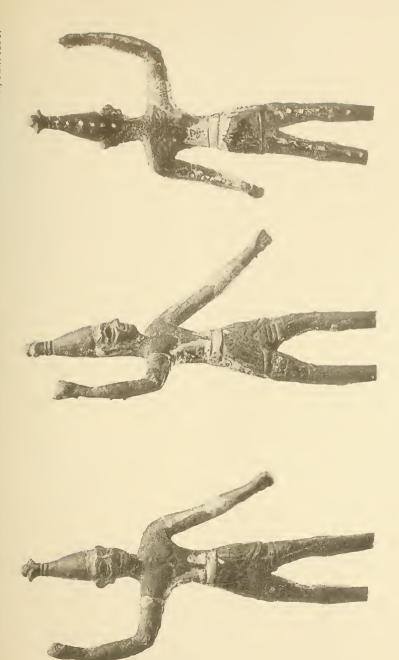
^{*} On the other hand, it is very closely allied to "Amen, slayer of his enemies," at Liverpool. (Birch, in Wilk. Anc. Eg., Vol. III, 13; Lanzone, Dicionario, p. 42, and Pl. XXI, 3. The latter seems to be the best figure.)

standing, and is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high without the feet. (See plate, slightly reduced.) The figure wears a conical head dress with a flower-shaped termination tied below the tip. The arms are curiously posed, much like those of the Syro-Egyptian deities holding spear or battle-axe and shield which are figured in Müller's Asien und Europa, p. 311 ff., but with the left arm too straight and too low to correspond satisfactorily. The attitude of the god on Mr. Macgregor's plaque seems to explain the action of the figure: both hands are closed as if grasping an object; the raised right hand probably held a spear, while the other gripped the serpent as it rose to repulse its assailant.

The workmanship is rude, the eyes have been inlaid, but are now empty. The silver covering has been applied in a primitive fashion, being simply plates bent round and pegged down along convenient lines, with silver rivets let into the bronze. The plating has covered the whole figure, but there is not much of it remaining at the present time; the rivets are sunk in grooves, one of which runs down the back of the head, one on each shoulder, one above and one below the right upper arm, and others along the back of the right lower arm and the whole of the left arm, on each side of the body and waist-cloth, and down the back of each leg. The lines of rivets where the plates have become detached are well shown in the photographs, for which we are indebted to a good friend of the Society, Mr. Walter L. Nash. The rude and primitive workmanship as displayed in this statuette, coming from a centre of handicraft like Phœnicia, are surely in favour of a very early date for the specimen.

A RELIC OF PHARAOH NECHO FROM PHŒNICIA.

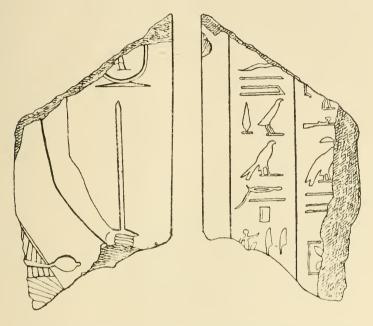
A stone fragment with hieroglyphs, worthless enough in itself, was offered to Mr. Franks at the same time as the figure, and "thrown in" with some other purchases. It however possesses considerable interest as being evidently a relic of Necho's brief occupation of Syria, between his great invasion of the country in 608 B.c., and his total overthrow by Nebuchadnezzar in or about 605. It is a fragment of a thin tablet of basalt, on which is part of a royal figure holding staff and mace. In front of this is a scrap of a cartouche with the legs of a bird remaining. On the back is a very shallow inscription containing the name of the temple of



BRONZE FIGURE PLATED WITH SILVER, FROM PHŒNICIA. IN THE POSSESSION OF A. W. FRANKS, ESQ., C.B.. P.S.A., ETC.



Osiris at or near Sais , a sure sign of Saite epoch. There can be no question but that the cartouche should be restored for for , the regular forms of the name of Necho. It is said to have been found at Sidon.



Both of the objects obtained by Mr. Franks will be presented to the British Museum.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 6th February, 1894, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

Dr. Gladstone, F.R.S., Ancient Metals from Tell-el-Hesy.P. le P. Renouf (*President*), On an Important Point of Egyptian Theology.

ERRATA. Vol. XVI.

Page 39, line 9 from bottom, to read כל האדם or בני אדם or בני אדם.

- ,, 39, line 4 from bottom, read ... על פיהם.
- ,, 40, line 1, for מַלֶּבֶם read בּילָבָּים.
- ,. 41, line 4 from bottom, for De Russi read De Rossi.
- ,, 41, Note, for Shemuel read Samuel, and for 1823 read 1893.
- ,, 43, last line, read unity of the Book of Jubilees with the XII Testaments.



THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

Members	having	duplicate	copies,	will	confer	α	favour	by	presenting	them	to	the
				S	ociety.							

ALKER, E., Die Chronologie der Bucher der Könige und Paralipomenön im Einklang mit der Chronologie der Aegypter, Assyrer, Babylonier und Meder. Amélineau. Histoire du Patriarche Copte Isaac.

----- Contes de l'Égypte Chrétienne.

La Morale Egyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère.

AMIAUD, La Légende Syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu.

— Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. 2 parts. BAETHGEN, Beitrage zur Semitischen Religiongeshichte. Der Gott Israels und der Götter der Heiden.

Blass, A. F., Eudoxi ars Astronomica qualis in Charta Aegyptiaca superest.

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BUDINGER, M., De Colomarium quarundam Phoeniciarum primordiis cum Hebraeorum exodo conjunctis.

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_____ 2nd series, 1869.

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EARLE'S Philology of the English Tongue.

EBERS, G., Papyrus Ebers. Die Masse und das Kapitel über die Augen krankheiten.

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GAYET, E., Stèles de la XII dynastie au Musée du Louvre.

GOLÉNISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.

HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.

HESS, Der Gnostische Papyrus von London.

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JASTROW, M., A Fragment of the Babylonian "Dibbarra" Epic.

JENSEN, Die Kosmologie der Babylonier.

Jeremias, Tyrus bis zur Zeit Nubukadnezar's Geschichtliche Skizze mit besonderer Berucksichtigung der Keilschriftlichen Quellen.

JOACHIM, H., Papyros Ebers, das Älteste Buch über Heilkunde.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. Contributions to Assyriology and Comparative Semitic Philology.

KREBS, F., De Chnemothis nomarchi inscriptione Aegyptiaca commentatio.

Lederer, Die Biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Aegypten bis zum Beginne der Babylonische Gefangenschaft mit Berichsichtignung der Reresultate der Assyriologie und der Aegyptologie.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

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OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XVI. TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION.

Fourth Meeting, February 6th, 1894.

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TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1893-94.

Fourth Meeting, 6th February, 1894.

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IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Papyrus Ebers. Die Maasse und das Kapitel über die Augenkrankheiten. Von Georg Ebers, 8vo. Leipzic, 1889.

From the Author:—Original Notes on the Book of Proverbs, mostly from Eastern Writings. By the Rev. S. C. Malan, DD., 3 vols. 8vo. London, 1889.

From :—Catalogue of the Museum of Antiquities of the Sydney University, compiled by the Curator, Mr. Edward Reeve. Sydney, 1860-70. 8vo.

[No. cxx.]

From the Author: Die identität der ältesten Babylonischen und Aegyptischen Göttergenealogie und der Babylonische ursprung der Aegyptischen Kultur. Von Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel.

From the Author:—Degli Hittîm o Hethei e delle loro migrazioni.

By Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Cap. VII (Civiltà Catholica. Serie XV. Vol. IX). 1894.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 9th January, 1894, and elected Members of the Society:—

Rev. Arthur Fitzgerald Campbell, Hartlebury.

Dr. M. Friedlander, Principal of the Jews' College, Tavistock House, Tavistock Square, W.C.

William Izod, The Hawthorns, Church Road, Edghaston.

Rev. W. E. Oliver, LL.D., The Vicarage, Ealing.

Prince Boris Schakhorskay, 3, Fourschtadstkaia, St. Petersburg. J. Herbert Walker, 55, Fitzroy Road, Regent's Park, N.W.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 6th March, 1894:—

Miss Rosalind F. E. Paget, 5, Montague Street, W.C. Miss Scull, 2, Langland Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.

A Paper was read by Dr. Gladstone, F.R.S., Ancient Metals from Tell-el-Hesy, etc.

Remarks were added by George Thorpe, F.S.A.; H. Rassam, Walter Morrison (*Vice-President*), Rev. Dr. Löwy, J. Offord, junr., Dr Gaster, Dr. Gladstone, and the President.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (*President*), on An Important Point of Egyptian Theology.

Remarks were added by the Rev. Dr. Löwy, Rev. James Marshall, and Dr. Gaster.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

ANCIENT METALS FROM TELL-EL-HESY.

By J. H. GLADSTONE, D.Sc., F.R.S.

Through the kindness of Mr. Bliss I have lately had the opportunity of examining a series of metal implements from various parts of Tell-el-Hesy, the mound in Southern Palestine which is supposed to cover the site of the city of Lachish. According to the Bible account this was a city of the Amorites which was taken by the Israelites on their conquest of Canaan, and became one of the cities of Judah. We read of its being afterwards rebuilt as a fortified city by Rehoboam; and at the time of Hezekiah we find it taken and occupied by Sennacherib, king of Assyria. We possess an account of this campaign against Lachish in the cuneiform inscriptions and mural pictures that narrate the history of that monarch. In the time of Nebuchadnezzar it was still a fenced city: and it was one of the towns inhabited by the Jews on their return from the Captivity. Lachish is also mentioned in the correspondence of the king Khu-n-Aten, found at Tell-el-Amarna, one tablet of which has been unearthed in Tell-el-Hesy itself. As the date of Khu-n-Aten's reign is about B.C. 1450, a period somewhat earlier than the first Biblical record of Lachish, we have a series of dates fairly fixed. Professor Flinders Petrie, who was its first explorer, was also able to determine its approximate chronology by means of the character of the pottery found there.

The mound itself has been cut down to the level of the valley by Mr. Bliss, who finds it to consist of the ruins of a series of Amorite towns one above another, overlaid by a stratum of ashes and sand, and then the ruins of the Israelite towns. Very far down in the series, at a period which, according to Bliss, was earlier than 1500 B.C., were found some copper tools. A portion of one of the adzes was broken off and given me for examination, with the following results.

Cepper Adze. The metal presented outside a little corrosion, with indications of oxide and subchloride. The interior was extremely red in colour, and very hard, but brittle. Its specific

95 I 2

gravity, as determined on two portions, was 6.67 or 6.46; that of pure copper being as much as 8.9. On microscopical examination the metal was evidently very irregular in composition, and on treatment with nitrate of silver it was found to be rich in suboxide of copper, with small nodules apparently consisting wholly of that substance. This accounts for its colour, and its light specific gravity. On analysis the following percentage composition was obtained:—

	Copper					94'9
	Oxygen					2.4
	Lead					.68
	Iron					.77
	Antimony	or tin, c	hlorine	e, &c.		. 95
					:	100,00
which is ed	quivalent to-	_				
	Metallic co	pper				73.6
	Suboxide o	of copper				24.0
	Other subs	tances				2.4

Copper Knife. A portion of a thin knife or spatula from the same place was also examined. It consists of a thin layer of copper bordered on each side first by a layer of red cuprous oxide, then by green oxychloride, and outside dark red cuprous oxide mixed with other mineral substances. When cleaned as far as possible from these coatings, the interior was found to contain 97 per cent. of copper, with about o'15 per cent. of iron. There was no tin; but there were feeble traces of antimony and lead, and ample indications of cuprous oxide.

100.0

Bronze Nails. Higher up in the mound were found a number of pointed objects, most probably nails, and dating between 1400 and 1100 B.C. They were corroded right through, and mostly of a light green colour. They had originally been bronze, and the proportion of the metals in one of the pieces analysed was:—

Copper ... 45.8 Tin ... 10.3 Iron ... 1.2 It does not follow that the metals were originally in these relative proportions, as the objects were so corroded that a good deal of the copper may have been dissolved away. So high a proportion of tin is very improbable.

Later Bronze. A specimen of this, belonging to the Israelitish period, and supposed to date somewhere between 1100 and 800 B.C., was also much oxidised; it gave the following proportions of copper and tin, viz., copper 63'4, and Tin 7'5. There was no lead or bismuth. There was a little chlorine. These relative proportions, in round numbers 9 to 1, are about what is usually found in ancient bronze. As we ascend through the Israelitish period, the bronze objects gradually disappear, and are replaced by iron ones.

Lead. An object which seemed to be made out of a piece of thick lead wire, and of about the same age as the supposed nails gave, on analysis, 98.46 per cent. of lead, with traces of antimony and iron. No clear indication of silver could be obtained.

Silver. Of about the same period was a wire, bent somewhat into the form of a bangle, which consisted principally of silver. It had a coating of chloride of silver, no doubt produced from the chlorides of the soil. A piece cut off gave the following analysis:—

Silver		• • •			89.13
Chlori	de of	silver	•••		1.92
Coppe	er		•••		6.20
Gold	• • •				1.44
Iron		• • •	• • •	• • •	0.54
				-	
					00'22

One point of interest connected with these metallic objects from Tell-el-Hesy is that we are able to trace in the same city the gradual transition from copper tools to bronze ones, and their gradual replacement as the manufacture of iron became better understood. It is curious, however, that flint implements are found from the lowest Amorite to the highest Israelite period, some of the latest being of very beautiful manufacture.

It is worthy of notice that the lead is particularly pure. The absence of silver is remarkable; and singularly enough, no silver was found in a specimen of lead which Prof. Flinders Petrie gave me from the Greek temple of Neptune at Poestum, dating from the

middle of the sixth century B.C. Prof. Roberts-Austen also found no silver in a little leaden figure of Aphrodite from the third city of Troy, which he examined for Schliemann.

The presence of gold in the silver ornament is probably due to the existence of that metal in the original ore.

But the most suggestive point is the presence of such a very large quantity of suboxide of copper in the very ancient copper adze and knife. There can be little doubt that the hardness of the metal is due to this admixture; but there arise several interesting questions as to when and how this admixture took place. Is the presence of this suboxide due to long exposure to the action of the air? Were the adze and knife fashioned first in ordinary copper, and afterwards subjected to a process of oxidation to render them hard enough for cutting tools? Mr. Bliss tells me that the building in which they were found had been burnt; but it is evident they must have been hardened before this circumstance took place in order to be of much use. The trace of antimony or tin must be regarded as an accidental impurity, and is certainly not sufficient to account for the hardness.

Impressed with this observation, I re-examined the very ancient specimen of Egyptian bronze from Mastaba 17, Meydum, and the copper from the well of Rahotep (mentioned in the *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* for March, 1892), and found in them a decided admixture of suboxide of copper, though far less than in these Amorite specimens. It seems probable that these ancient workers in copper had found that, by promoting the formation of suboxide during its manufacture, they obtained harder and more serviceable tools. On examining in a similar way some of the copper from Kahun, and of the bronze from Gorub (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, March, 1890), I also found indications of suboxide, but perhaps not more than would generally be given by ordinary specimens of metallic copper of modern date.

I have had also an opportunity of examining a piece of a copper knife or sickle which formed part of the valuable collection of metal implements found by Mr. Loftus at Tell-el-Sifr in Chaldæa. It was placed at my disposal by Mr. John Spiller, who was the first to determine that these implements were not bronze, but copper. The piece consisted of a thin outer layer of a greenish colour, which was some compound of copper. Under it was a dark red layer which was mostly cuprous oxide; and the original metal in the interior. This was a rather dark coloured and comparatively soft

metal, nearly free from cuprous oxide. It contained no tin; but a microscopical quantity of some very insoluble substance which gave the reaction of gold, mixed apparently with some other metal which formed an insoluble oxide. An analysis yielded:—

Copper	• • •				98.6
Iron	•••	•••			0.4
Sulphur	•••	•••			0.5
Oxygen and	other	constitu	uents		0.2
				-	
					100.0

There is evidently much still to learn about the composition and hardening of these copper tools which preceded the age of bronze.



BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of the Golden Hawk. (1)

I raise myself up: I raise myself up as the Golden Hawk, which cometh out from its Egg; and I fly and I hover as a Hawk of four cubits across the back. My two wings are of the green gem of the South. (2)

I come forth from the cabin of the Sektit Bark and I raise myself up from the Eastern Hill.

I stoop upon the Âtit Bark, that I may come and raise to me those who are in their circles, and who bow down before me.

I raise myself and gather myself together as the beautiful Golden Hawk with the head of a Heron, to listen to whose utterances Râ cometh every day, and I sit down in the midst of all the great gods of Heaven.

The fields lie before me; the produce is before me; I eat of it, I wax radiant upon it, I am saturated with it to the satisfaction of my heart.

Nepra hath given to me my throat, and I am in possession of all that pertaineth to my person. (3)

NOTES.

1. This is the first of a series of chapters relative to the "Transformations," the subject of which is treated in the Introduction. It is sufficient here to repeat that the Egyptian 'Transformations' have nothing in common with Metempsychosis, as understood in the Greek or Indian religions. The change of form in the Egyptian idea depended upon the will of the person; it was not a penance for sin, but a means of glorification. And all the forms assumed in the Book of the Dead by the deceased are well known forms of the Sun-god.



BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER LXV.
Papyrus du Louvre, III, 93.



CHAPTER LXVIII.
Papyrus du Louvre, III, 89.



CHAPTER LXVIII. LEPSIUS, "Todt.," Plate XXV.



CHAPTER LXXI.
LEPSIUS, "Todt.," Plate XXVI.



CHAPTER LXXI.
Papyrus of Nebseni, British Museum, 9900.



CHAPTER LXXII.
Papyrus du Louvre, III, 93.



CHAPTER LXXII.
Papyrus, Berlin Museum, II.



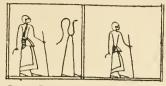
CHAPTER LXXIII.
Papyrus of Ani, British Museum.



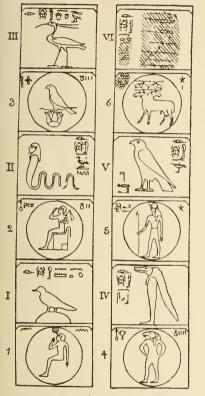
CHAPTER LXXIV.
Papyrus of Ani, British Museum.

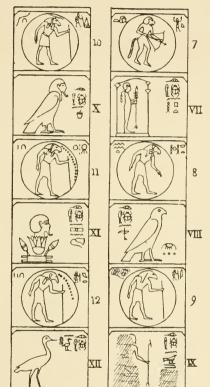
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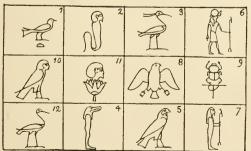




CHAP. LXXIV. CHAP. LXXIII. LEPSIUS, "Todt.," Plate XXVII.







CHAPTERS OF THE TRANSFORMATIONS OR CHANGES. Cedar Coffin, in the Gizeh Museum,

Published by BRUGSCH-PASHA, "Zeitschr. für Aeg. Spr., 1867."



- 2. Green gem of the South of the South of this has generally been understood as representing the green feldspar of which many objects in our museums are made. But Dümichen (Zeitschr., 1872) has shown that the of of the East' is a synonym of Māfkait, emerald, and M. Naville has referred to Pliny, who (Hist. Nat., XXXVII, 17) speaks of the Egyptian emeralds 'qui eruuntur circa Copton oppidum Thebaidis in collibus, ex cautibus.' The same author quotes Juba in reference to Ethiopic gems as being 'alacriter virides, sed non facile puri aut concolores.'
- 3. Nepra is one of the names of Osiris, considered as giver of corn. By *Throat* is here meant the organ or power of swallowing, deglutition.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of the Sacred Hawk. (1)

Oh Horus! come thou to Tattu, make clear to me the paths, and help me to make the round of my dwelling places.

Look thou upon me and exalt me, impart to me Terror, and rouse in me Might, so that the gods of the Tuat may fear me, that their battlements war in my behalf there; and that he may not assail and slay me in the house of darkness, who enwrappeth the dead; the god who hideth his name; or that the like be done by them.

Oh ye gods who give ear to the words; ye foremost ones, ye who are in the train of Osiris; hush ye up, gods, that which a god speaketh with a god who is giving ear to a case of Divine Law!

And that which I have said to him say thou, Osiris.

Grant to me that change of existence which hath issued from thy mouth on my behalf, that I may see thine own attributes and survey thy Powers. (2)

Grant that I may come forth and have the mastery of my two feet, and that I may be there like the Inviolate One on high; that the gods of the Tuat may fear me and their battlements war on my behalf.

Grant that I may run together with thy Runners, but remain firm upon my pedestal like the Lord of Life; let me be united with Isis the Mighty; may they protect me against slaughter, from him who looked upon death.

Let me advance to the goal (3) of Heaven. I claim words from Seb, and I pray for sustenance from the Inviolate one on high, so that the gods of the Tuat may fear me, and that their battlements may war on my behalf, when they see thy supplies for me.

I am one of those Bright ones in Glory: may my attributes be fashioned like the attributes of him who cometh forth to Tattu; may I be invested (4) with the Soul of him who telleth thee what concerneth me.

Oh impart to me Terror and rouse in me Might that the gods of the Tuat may fear me and their battlements war on my behalf.

I am the Bright one in Glory, whom Tmu himself hath called into being, and my origin is from the apple of his eye, (5) who hath made and glorified and honoured those who are to be with him. For he is the Unique in Heaven, whom they extol as he cometh forth from the Horizon, and the gods and glorified ones who are with him fear him.

I am one of the worms which the eye of the Lord of Oneness hath brought into being.

Verily, before Isis was, who gave birth to Horus, I grew up and waxed old, and was honoured beyond those in Glory, who were with me.

And I arose as the Sacred Hawk, whom Horus had invested with his own Soul for the seizin of his inheritance from Osiris at the Tuat.

And the god in Lion form, who presideth over those who are at the House of the Nemmes (6) which is in its caverns, said to me:—

"Go back to the confines of Heaven, for thou art invested with the attributes of Horus: for thee the Nemmes is not, but free utterance is thine, even to the confines of Heaven."

And I took possession of the inheritance of Horus from Osiris at the Tuat, and Horus repeated to me that which his father Osiris had said to him in the early time, on the Burial Day of Osiris.

"The Nemmes hath been given to me by the god in Lion form, that thou mayest advance and go upon the path of Heaven, so that those who are on the confines of the Horizon may see thee and that the gods of the Tuat may fear thee, and that their battlements may war on thy behalf." [Ahut. (7)]

At the divine words all they who are at the funereal shrine of the Lord of Oneness bend low.

Oh thou who art raised above thy coffin and bereft of the

Nemmes, the god in Lion form hath reached the Nemmes to me, and wings are given to me.

He hath given me strength through his back, through his back, and through his most powerful might, that I fall not upon Shu. (8)

I propitiate my fair brother, the Master of the two Uraei.

I, even I, am he who knoweth the paths of Heaven; its breezes are upon me, the raging Bull stoppeth me not as I advance whithersoever there lieth a wreck in the Field of Eternity, and I pilot myself towards the darkness and the suffering of the deceased ones of Osiris.

I come daily through the house of the god in Lion form, and I pass forth from it to the house of Isis the Mighty, that I may see glorious, mysterious and hidden matters, even as she hath caused me to see the divine offspring of the Great One.

[N.B. The remainder of this chapter, with the notes, will be issued in the next number of the *Proceedings*.]



WHERE WAS TARSHISH?

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

I.

The identification of Tarshish with Tartessus in Spain is so universally taken for granted, not only by the most accomplished Biblical scholars but by writers of secular history, like Grote and Duncker, that it would argue a great want of modesty to call it in question were not the arguments in its behalf well known to be devoid of positively demonstrative force. The utmost that must be claimed for them is that they lend probability or plausibility to what is in fact a very modern conjecture.

The identification in question was entirely unknown to the earlier interpreters of Scripture. The Septuagint version understands Carthage to be meant in certain places where Tarshish is alluded to, and the same sense is adopted by the Vulgate in Ezekiel xxvii, 12. Josephus understands Tarsus in Cilicia, and is followed by some later Jewish and Christian authorities. But Tarshish is translated Sea in the Septuagint, Isaiah ii, 16, in the Targums, and in several places of the Vulgate. And St. Jerome remarks:—"Hebraei putant lingua propria mare Tarsis appellari."

Eusebius stands alone in identifying $\Theta a \rho \sigma \epsilon \hat{i} s$ with Spain, and this conjecture was caught up and modified in the seventeenth century by the learned French scholar Samuel Bochart, and has since flourished under the authority of great names. If however an Egyptian inscription of Thothmes III, or an Assyrian one of Sargon or Sennacherib, were to mention Tarshish as being on the Phoenician or Syrian coast, the Tartessian hypothesis would at once be dismissed and the arguments in support of it recognised as destitute of value.

The truth is that in the days of Bochart and down to the days of even Winer, Gesenius and Grote, the most learned scholars had no conception of the amount of historical and geographical information which was hidden from them, and has only been gradually discovered to the world during the last forty or fifty years. They seem, un-

consciously to themselves, to assume that the explanation of what they did not know was to be found in what they already knew. It is impossible for us now to use books which in our younger days were the most justly entitled to the praise of learning and insight, without being forced to sift the rich materials which they contain and separate them from the combinations into which they have been cast.

The strongest point in the hypothesis of Bochart is that by changing the first \mathfrak{V} into the letter t we obtain identity of sound between Tarshish and Tartessos. In this etymological equation he has certainly been more fortunate than in many others as, for instance, in his derivation of *Phoenician* from *B'ni Anak* 'Sons of Anak.' But identity of name is by itself a matter of little importance. We have but to look at a geographical index in order to be convinced of the small worth of such coincidences. Egyptian Abydos and Thebes have nothing in common with the Mysian Abydos, and the Thebes of Boeotia. The Camerina of Babylonia has no etymological connection with the Sicilian Camerina. The Iberians of the Caucasus were not related to the Iberians of Spain. The African Ludim of Gen. x, 13, are distinct from the Lud of v. 22. Combinations such as that of Arpakshad and Arraphachitis are now definitely given up by all who have any pretention to scholarship. And nothing is more certain, on the other hand, than that the same country is known in different languages under widely different names. As Germany, Allemagne, and Deutschland are but different names of the same country at the present day, so were Hellas and Graecia in the Roman period, but the Egyptians would not have recognized their country under the names given to it by Greeks, Hebrews, or Assyrians. The name of Canaan as denoting the country so called in Scripture is entirely unknown to Assyrians and Babylonians, who speak of it under other names.

Now what besides the name is there to show that Tartessos is Tarshish? Is there a particle of historical evidence that intercourse ever existed between Tyre and Tartessus? —Is there a single record of a Tartessian ship sailing either upon the Mediterranean, or on the Red Sea? What, in fact, do we know of Tartessos to induce one to believe that a locality beyond the Straits of Gibraltar naturally presented itself within the range of vision of the Hebrew writers? Is there any certainty that Tartessus ever existed?

Nothing, indeed, or hardly anything, authentic is known about Tartessus. The early references to it are mixed up with poetry and fable. Stesichorus speaks of it as a river near to the cavern where Gervones was born, and Anacreon alludes to the 150 years of King Arganthonius, of whom Herodotus has also spoken (I, 163–165). There is a most serious chronological difficulty in the story as told by Herodotus, but if there be any truth at all in it Arganthonius, the King of Tartessus, was a native Iberian prince and not a Phoenician. The Phocean navigators who were so hospitably treated by him, never seem to have come across any Phoenicians in the country. Another story is told by Herodotus, in connexion with the foundation of Cyrene, respecting the Samian merchant Colaeus, who was carried off by contrary winds through the pillars of Herakles as far as Tartessus, where he sold the cargo he had brought from Egypt at a price so exorbitant that in gratitude for his good fortune he dedicated to Here of Samos a magnificent bronze vase which cost six talents and represented the tithe of his gains. Now this story, whatever may be its truth, is quite inconsistent with the hypothesis of the Phoenician origin or government of Tartessus. Herodotus never appears to have suspected such a connection, and Grote writes entirely without authority when he says that Colaeus found himself "an unexpected visitor among the *Phenicians* and Iberians of Tartessus," and that "the secret of Phenician commerce at Tartessus first became known to the Greeks."

If Tartessus ever really existed elsewhere than in the realms of imagination, like the isle of Calypso, or the gardens of the Hesperides, its site was certainly unknown at the time of Strabo, though it was then identified on grounds of probability with the neighbourhood of the Guadalquivir. Late writers, like Valerius Maximus, Pliny, and Arrian, confound Tartessus and Gades. There is no doubt that Gades was Phoenician, and bore a Semitic name. It was moreover so ancient a Phoenician settlement, and so effectual a block in the way to Tartessus as to render incredible all the stories of navigation to that spot. Whatever commerce came from the west of Spain must have proceeded from Gades, not from Tartessus, and after the growth of Carthage must have passed to that emporium rather than directly to Tyre.

The chief characteristic which has been pointed out as common to Tartessus and to Tarshish is the great metallic wealth ascribed to each of them, and above all the possession of *tin*. Now it is

asserted that tin can only be looked for either directly in Spain, or as brought by Phoenician ships from Britain.

The entire force of this argument must now be considered as overthrown by recent discoveries, which almost dispense me from the necessity of pointing out the fact that the great metallic wealth of Spain, and of the Turdetanian region in particular, about which Strabo is eloquent, was first made known to his countrymen, and developed by the great Hamilcar Barcas, who laid the foundation of the Carthaginian empire in Spain. This was not till after the first Punic war, and therefore long after the times of Isaiah and Ezekiel.

The discoveries to which I allude are partly archæological and partly philological, and each is of irresistible weight in its own department.

The Bronze and the Tin which are so often mentioned in the Homeric poems are not inconsistent with the hypothesis that the tin which is necessary for the manufacture of bronze may have been procured by Phoenician commerce from the west of Europe, though it was not necessary even in Europe to go as far as Spain.

But the implements in bronze and tin which have been discovered in Mycenae cannot be disposed of so easily. They are witnesses, like the gold and silver which were found along with them, to the splendour of a civilization which had passed away, perhaps before a single Phoenician ship had reached the western coast of the Mediterranean.

We may probably never know even the approximate dates of these prehistoric antiquities. But the bronze weapons of Thothmes III are from the earlier years of the 18th dynasty, and those of King Kames are a little anterior to the dynasty. If the bronze cylinder bearing the name of Pepi I was made for that sovereign, or for his family, we have Egyptian bronze works of art from the 6th dynasty.

The same result meets us in Mesopotamia. The well-known bronze gates of Balawât speak for themselves, but they are modern in comparison with the bronze works of art dating from the early Babylonian empire. There are fine specimens of this art both in Paris and in London. Whence came the tin which entered into the composition of all this bronze?

The Greek for tin is $\kappa \alpha \sigma \sigma i \tau \epsilon \rho \sigma s$, which has found its way into many other languages, as in the case of the Arabic kasdir. But the

word, to all appearance, is neither Indo-European nor Semitic, and as the Accadian has a word of the same meaning very like it, *id-kasduru*, it is much more likely that it came to the Greeks from Babel through Phoenicia than that it came into Accadian from Greek.

And the metal itself may have come from the mines of Paropamisos.*

I am not aware of the existence of any other direct argument in favour of Tartessus beyond those I have mentioned, viz.: (1) the similarity of name,† (2) the commerce of certain metals, notably of tin; others will find their place later on; and at the present day it is difficult to exaggerate the weakness of these arguments. They are supplemented, of course, by the consideration that this hypothesis does not contradict the sacred writings, but helps towards their interpretation.

I hold, on the contrary, that the sacred Scriptures point in another direction, and that the Tartessian hypothesis has only led to falsify translations of the Bible and given rise to the most forced interpretations of the sacred text.

* O. Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, p. 192, 193, 214 and following. It would be too long here to discuss possible objections, but I have carefully studied the matter from the Assyriological point of view, and believe that Schrader's position is thoroughly sound.

† This is sometimes put forward in the form, *Turdali* or *Turdalani* = *Tartessus* = *Tarshish*. Some writers who see the weakness of Tartessus proper, imagine that the part is put for the whole, hence Tarshish = Tartessus = Spain.

[To be continued in next number.]



זה צוואת נפתלי בן יעקב:

צוואת נפתלי: נפתלי בן יעקב' נפתולי אלהים. ייהי כאשר הוזקן נפתלי ובא בשיבה טובה ובא שלם° בגבורתו ועבד משפט שוח ויחל לצואת את בניו ויאמר ייענו ויאמרו בני בואו וגושו וקיבלו מצות אביכם. ויענו ויאמרו 23% לו. הננו שומעין לקיים לכל אשר תצונו. ויאמר להם. אינני מצוה לכם לא על כספי ולא על זהבי אשר אני מניח° תחת השמש. ואיני מצויכם יו דבר כבד שאינכם יכולין לעמוד בו. אבל אני אומר לכם דבר קל שאתם יכולין לקיימו. וענו" והשיבו" בניו שנית ואמרו" דבר אבינו כי שומעין" אנו". אמר להם. איני מצויכם" אלא על יראת י"י אותו תעבודו ובו תדבקו. אמרו לו. ומה הוא צריך לעבודתינו. אמר להם. לא הוא" צריך לכל ברייה אלא" בריות עולמו צריכין לו. אבל לא תהו יצר לעולמו אלא כדי שיראו" מלפניו ושלא יעשה" איש לרעהו מה שלא רצה" לנפשו. אמרו לו. אבינו. כלום ראיתנו שפירשנו מדרכיך ומדרכי אבותינו״ ימין ושמאל. אמר להן. עד י"י ואני בכם שכדבריכם

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ישילדה לו בלהה שפחת רחל <sup>1</sup> P.
                                        <sup>2</sup> 'N' 'I P. om.
                                        4 ועבר O., וניכר P.
3 P. J. add 🗅
יונאל ס 0.
                                        6 ליטמע P.
ס אלקים ז
                            א על הכבודה O. P., ולא על הכבודה J.
                                       וסצוה אתכם P. J.
9 O. P. J. add 55.
                                      12 O. adds ואמרו לו
11 O. om.
13 O. om.
                                       ישומעים <sup>14</sup> O. P. J.
                                       .0 מצוה אתכם 16
15 אנחנו P. J.
17 O. om.
                                       18 P. J. add 55
                                      20 יכיעה J.
19 את עולמו כי אם שייראו 0.
21 ירצה P. J.
                                      22 אביך P. J.
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כז הוא אבל יראתי על העתידות לבדו' שלא תתעו אחרי אלילי בני° נכר ולא תלכו בחוקי° גויי הארצות גלא תשתתפו עם בני יוסף. זולתי' עם בני לוי ועם בני יהודה. אמרו לו. ומה ראית לְצוינוּ על ככה. אמ' להן. לפי שידעתי שעתידין בני יוסף לסור מאחרי י"י אלי" אבותם ולהחטיא את בני ישראל ולהגלותן מעל הארץ הטובה בארץ לא לנו. כאשר גלינו על ידו לשיעבוד' מצרים. ועוד אספרה נא" לכם החזון אשר ראיתי בהיותי רועה בצאן. ראיתי" והנה י"ב אחי רועים עמי בשדה. והנה אבינו בא ואמר לנו. בנייי רוצו ותיפסו לפניי" כל אחד אשר יעלה בחלקו. נענה ונאמר לו ומה נתפוס הנה אין אנו רואים אלא השמש והירח והכוכבים." כשמוע" לוי כן ויתפוש" מרדע בידו וידלג על" השמש וישב וירכב עליו. וכראות יהודה ויעש גם הוא כן ותפס™ מרדע ויקפץ על הירח וירכב עליו וגם כל בשבטים. כל אחד מחם רכב על כוכבו ומזלו בשמים. ונשאר זולתי יוסף לבדו בארץ. אמר לו יעקב אבינו. בני ואתה למה" [לא] עשית כאחיך. אמר לו. אבי ומה לילוד משה בשמים וסופן על הארץ יעמודו.

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סלבוא 1 O. P. J., and א"D i.e., marginal gloss in A.
<sup>2</sup> O. om.
                                               <sup>3</sup> בחוקות P. J.
                                               לצוות P. J., לצוות O.
י.0 רק וּ.
P. J. אלקי P. J.
                                               7 J. adds אדמתם
8 ידו O., ידו P. J., רדו A.
                                               9 בשעבוד O.
10 P. J. om.
                                               <sup>11</sup> P. J. om.
12 בני O. P. J.
                                              13 P. J.
יותפיטו לפני כל א' וו O. P.
                                              <sup>15</sup> O. om.
אמר להם ומהם P. J. add אמר להם
                                              <sup>17</sup> כיטמע P., וביטמוע O.
                                              19 עד O.
וא פס P. ותפס
24 נתפיט 0.
                                               ים וקפין <sup>12</sup> P.
                                              23 P. J. add 020
<sup>22</sup> O. om., P. J. have תיטעת
                                               25 לילודי I. P.
יין לו ,..ן O. לא <sup>24</sup> P.
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כדבר' יוסף כן הגה שור אחד גבוה עומד אצלו ולו כנפיים גדולים ככנפי החסידה וקרניו גבוהין כקרני ראימים. ויאמר לו יעקב. קום יוסף בני ורכב עליו. ויקם יוסף וירכב על השור. ויעקב אבינו הלך מאתנו. 334. בעוד ד' שעות היה יוסף מתגאה על השור שפעמים היה הולך ורץ ופעמים היה בו מעופף עד אשר הגיע אצלי יהודה. ויושט יוסף הנסי אשרי בידו ויחל להכות את יהודה אחיו. ויאמר לו יהודה. אחי למה תכני. אמר לו שבידך י"ב" מרדעות ולי אחת. עתה תנם לי³ והיה שלום. וימאן יהודה לתתם לו. והכיהו יוסף עד שנטל" בימנו הי שלא בטובתו ולא נשאר ביד" יהודה כי אם ב' מהן. ב' אמר להן יוסף לי אחיו" מה לכם לרוץ" ליהודה" ולוי. סרו מאחריהן ולכו אחרי. וכשמעו אחיו" מפי יוסף סרו מעל לוי ויהודה נאיש אחד. ללכת אחרי יוסף. ולא נותר עם יהודה בלתי בנימין ולוי. כראות לוי מן ירד בעצבון רוחו " מעל השמש. אמר לו יוסף " לבנימין אחיו. בנימין " אחי " הלא אחי אתה. לכה גם אתה עמי. וימאן בנימין ללכת עם " יוסף אחיו. ויהי כהפנות היום הנה רוח גדולה ותפריד בין יוסף לאחיו בולא נותרו ב

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1 בדבר P. J.
2 שתי P. J.
3 יחי P. J. בדבר P. J. הנם P. J. הנם A.
4 שנים P., wrong.
9 יחי O. P. J.
11 בידו של J.
12 J.
13 J. om.
15 P. J. om.
16 P. J. add הדבר P. J. add הדבר P. J. add חדבר P. J. add חדבר P. J. מדרי P. J.
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<sup>2</sup> J. om.
<sup>4</sup> P. J. om. and have אייה, שהגיע.
<sup>6</sup> O. adds היה P. J.
<sup>10</sup> חן לי עישר P. J.
<sup>10</sup> שנטל O., אייבר נטלם, A.
<sup>12</sup> P. J. om.
<sup>14</sup> ליהודה O.
<sup>15</sup> P. J. om.
<sup>16</sup> P. J. om.
<sup>20</sup> P. J. om.
<sup>20</sup> P. J. om.
<sup>20</sup> O. om.
<sup>21</sup> O. om.
<sup>22</sup> O. om.
<sup>23</sup> P. J. add
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שנים יחד. ויהי כראותי' החזון הזה ואמר אותו ליעקב אבי. ואמר לי. בני חלום הוא" ולא" יעלה ולא יוריד כי לא משנה הוא. ולא חלף זמן מרובה ויראוני עוד חזון אחר. שהיינו כולנו עומדין עם יעקב אבינו על שפתו של ים הגדול והנה אנייה הולכת בלב ים בלא מלח" ובלא" איש. אמר לנו אבינו. הרואים אתם מה אני רואה. אמרנו לו. רואין אנו. " אמר לנו. ממני תראו וכן תעשו. והפשים יעקב אבינו את בגדיו והפיל עצמו הימה. וכלנו" אחריו. וקדמו לוי ויהודה תחילה וקפצו לתוכה ויעקב עמם". והנה בספינה כל מוב" שבעולם. אמר להן יעקב אבינו. הביטו נא אל התורן מה כתוב עליו. שאין ספינה שאין שם בעלה" כתוב על התורן. ויסתכל" לוי ויהודה ויראו והנה כתוב זו" האנייה לבן ברכאל היא" וכל מוב שיש בה. וכשמוע" יעקב אבינו" כן שמח ונתן קידה והעלה הודייה לה'ב'ה. אמר" לא דיי שברכני בארץ אלא ברכני גם" בים. מיד אמר לנו. בני עתה תתגברו " וכל אחד מה שיתפוס הוא חלקו. מיד דילג לוי על התורן הגדול שבה וישב עליו.

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<sup>1</sup> J. adds את
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³ 'п Р. J. om.

⁵ מ"א O., and ה"ס

⁷ P. adds גדולה

^{9 151 0.}

ים והלבנו וו

וא מובות P. J.

ויסתכלו 15 0.

אל היא די P. J., לכו ברכו אל O., אלקינו ס"א. את ה'; A.

¹⁸ כישמוע O. P. J.

^{.0} ואכזר 10

²² וקחו O. P. J., O. adds וקחו

² ואומר P. J., ואומר O., & ס"א

⁴ NO O. P.

⁶ כולם O. P. J.

s מלח P., מלא A., O. om.

¹⁰ P. J. om.

¹² עמנו J.

א תעלה P., תעלה A.

על תורן P.O. and א"ם add על תורן

¹⁹ אבינו P. J., אכל A., אבינו O. ²¹ J. om.

ושיני לו קפץ גם יהודה על התורן השני הסמוך לתורן של לוי וישב גם הוא עליו. ושאר אחיי החזיקו' גבר במשוטו. ויעקב אבינו תפס ב׳׳ הקברניטין כדי לישר׳ הספינה בהן. ונשאר יוסף לבדו. אמר לו אבינו. יוסף בני תפוס גם אתה משושך. ולא אבה יוסף. .34 כראות אבי כי לא אבה יוסף לתפוס משוטו אמר לו בני גש הנה ותפוש אחד מהקברניטין שבידי ותיישרי הספינה ואחיך ישוטו במשוטות עד שהגיעכם אל היבשה. ולימדנו לכל אחר ואחר ואמר לנו. ככה תנהיגו את הספינה ואינכם מתפחדין מכל גלי הים ימרוח סערה אם יעמוד עליכם. ויהי ככלותו לצוותו לנו ויתעלם מעלינו. * ויתפוס יוסף כל * הקברניטין אחד מימינו ואחד משמאלו ושאר אחיי משיטין. ותשט האנייה ותצף על פני המים. ולוי ויהודה יושבים על ב' התורנין" לראות איזה דרך תלך האנייה. כל שעה שהיה דעת יוסף ויהודה שוין. שיהודה יורה ליוסף לאיזו דרך טוב לשם יטה יוסף " הספינה" והלכה" הספינה בשלום בלא" מבשול. ולפי שעה נפלה מריבה בין יוסף ליהודה. ולא פירנס יוסף " הספינה כמאמר " אביו וכאילוף " יהודה. ותלך הספינה דרך עקלתון וחיכוה" גלי הים אל הסלע עד שנשתברה.

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<sup>1</sup> החזיק P. J.
                                             2 אחר כך עם בֶּ O.
<sup>3</sup> P. J. add אייטר, ליייטר O. P. J. יומשוך בידי ומשוך שיש בידי ומשוך א O. P. J. יומשר את O.
<sup>5</sup> הגיעכם P. J., יטענו המיטוטות עד שתגיעכם O.
                                             7 לצוות P. J.
6 ומסערה O.
<sup>8</sup> מאתנו P. J.
                                             9 בישני P. J.
                                             על התורן <sup>11</sup> P. J., התורן <sup>12</sup> O.
<sup>10</sup> אחיו O.
<sup>12</sup> O. adds ЛN, P. J. om.
                                             13 לספינה J.
14 חלכה P. J.
                                             15 לישלום בלי 0.
16 O. adds រាស
                                             0. כאישר אמר זו
ובאילוף 18 0.
                                             <sup>19</sup> והיטוה O., והכוה P. J.
```

1 70 O.

.0 היטנות החלום לך נפל לבי 25

אז ירדו לוי ויהודה מעלי התורנים בהימלם איש על נפשו. וגם שאר אחי כל אחד ממנו ונמלטנו על נפשינו אל היבשה. והנה בא יעקב אבינו וניצאנו' מטורפין אחר הנה ואחד הנה. אמר לנו. מה לכם בניי. שמא לא הינהגתם׳ האנייה כראוי לה כאשר צויתי לכם. ונאמר לו. חי נפש עבדיך כי לא סרנו מכל אשר צויתנו. אבל יוסף פשע" בדבר שלא יישר האנייה כציויך וכאשר הורהו° יהודה ולוי בקנאו להם. ויאמר לנו הראו לי" איה מקומה. וירא והנה ראשי התורנים נראין והנה" צפה על פני המים. וישרוק אבי" ונתקבצנו" אליו כלנו. ויפול הימה כתחילה" וירפא את הספינה. ויובח ליוסף ואמר לו. אל תוסף בני להתל" לקנא באחיך" כמעט שעוברין" כל אחיך על ידך ". וכאשר סיפרתי החזון הזה לאבי. ספק אבי " כפיו ויאנח נתזלגנה 2 עיניו דמעות. ואחר 2 עד בוש ולא אמר לי דבר. ואתפוס יד אבי לחבקה ולנשקה מומרה לו. אי עבד י"י למה מלגו עיניך ממר מומרה לי. בני על הישנות לך החזון "נפל ליבי ותשתומם גוייתי" על יוסף בני. שאני אהבתיו מכולכם ועל

```
3 5× O.
                                              4 ומצא אותנו 0.
<sup>5</sup> P. J. add  ገጽ
                                               6 ואמרנו O.
7 סרנו O. P. J., סרנו A.
                                               s טעה P. J.
9 הורנו P. I.
                                               <sup>10</sup> הראוני O.
<sup>11</sup> יהיא P. J.
                                               אבינו 12
ונקב', P. J., ונתקבצנו A.
                                              14 בתחלה O., בתחלה P. J.
15 חתל P. J.
                                              <sup>16</sup> אחיך I.
ישנאבדו <sup>17</sup> ס"א ,נאבדו O., ישנאבדו P. J.
                                               יריך P. J.
                                          יותי זלגו P., ותו זלגו O., ותזלגנה P., ותזלגנה J.
<sup>21</sup> אחל O., ואחר A. P. J.
                                               <sup>22</sup> ולמה 0.
<sup>23</sup> O. P. J. add דכועות
                                               24 712N1 O.
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² התורן P., התוריין J.

בי 26 וייטתומם גופי P. J.

משחת בני יוסף אתם גולים ומתפזרין לבין האומות. שחזיונך ראשון והשני כולהן שוין. חזון אחד הוא. על כן בני אני מצוה לכם שלא תתחברו עם בני יוסף אלא עם לוי ויהודה. וגם אגידה לכם שיפול גורלי במיטב טבור הארץ ותאכלו ותשבעו ממגדי' עדניה מזהירכם אני שלא תבעטון במשמניכם ולא תמרדון ולא " תמרו את פי י"י המשביעכם מטובי אדמתו. ולא תשכחו" את י"י אלהיכם אלהי אבותיכם שבו בחר אבינו אברהם " כשנתפלגו הדורות בימי פלג." כי " אז ירד הק' משמי מרומו והוריד ע' מלאכי שרת " ומיכאל בראשון. "א' וציוה לכל אהד מהן שילמדו לע' משפחות יוצאי ירך נח ע' לשון. מיד ירדו המלאכים " ועשו כן " כציוי בראן. ולא נשאר לשון הקודש לשון עברי כי אם בבית שם ועבר ובבית אברהם אבינו שהוא מבני בניהן. ובו ביום הוציא מיכאל פרק מלפני הק'ב'ה' ואמר לע' אומות לכל אחת בפני עצמה. אתם ידעתם את המרד אשר אתכם ואת . הקשר אשר קשרתם על אדוני השמים 20 והארץ ועתה בחרו לכם היום את מי תעבודו ומי מליצכם במרום. ענה נמרוד הרשע ואמר. אני אין לי גדול מזה

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יטניהן <sup>1</sup> O. P. J., and א"ם
                                               <sup>2</sup> כני O. P. J., A. oin.
מ"א, גורלכם 3
                                               4 מיטב O. and מ"ס
5 עדנים P.J.
                                               6 מזהירכם 0.
7 תבעטו O. J.
                                               9 תמרדו 0.
8 10 581 P. J.
                                               <sup>11</sup> תכחישון P. J.
12 אברהם אבינו 0.
                                               <sup>13</sup> הפלגה P. J.
<sup>14</sup> P.J. om.
                                               ה'ק ב'ה' <sup>15</sup>
16 עמו P. J. wrong
                                               17 הישרת O. P. J.
וא בראיטן 0.
                                               <sup>19</sup> P. J. om.
<sup>20</sup> P. adds און ביי ווא פיי ווא דו
                                               21 יה' P. om.
                                               23 לציוי P., כציווי J., לציוי O.
<sup>22</sup> P. J. om.
                          <sup>25</sup> טמים <sup>26</sup> כרוז O. P. J., and מ"ס <sup>26</sup> טמים O.
24 O. adds 'מ'ת'
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שלימר׳ לי ולאומתי כפי שעה לשון כוש. וענתה גם פוט ומצרים ותובל ויון ומשך ותירס² וכן כל אומה ואומה בחרה במלאכה" ולא הזכירה אחת' מהן שמו של הק'ב'ה'. אלא כיון שאמר מיכאל לאברהם אבינו. אברם את מי אתה תברור ולמי תעבוד. ענה אברהם° איני' בוחר ואיני' בורר אלא במי' שאמר והיה העולם שיצרני במעי" אמי" גויה בתוך גויה ומטיל בה רוח ונשמה. לו 2 אברור ובו אדבק אני וזרעי כל ימי עולם. אז הפריד עליון " גוים והנחיל והגדיל " לכל אומה ואומה לחלקה ולגורלה. ומאז היבדלו" כל גויי אדמה מהק" זולתי בית אברהם לבדו נשאר עם" בוראו לעבדו ואחריו "יצחק ויעקב". לכן בני אני משביע אתכם שלא תתעו ולא תעבדו לאל אחר אלא לאותו שבחרו בו אבותיכם." כי ידוע תדעו שאין כמוהו ואין מי אשר יעשה כמוהו וכמעשיו בשמים ובארץ ואין מי אשר יפליא לעשות כגבורותיו. ותבינו מקצת " כוחו " מבריית האדם " כמה פילאי פלאות יש בו. בראו "מראשו עד רגליו. מאזניו ישמע מראשו עד רגליו.

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ישלמד P. J., ישלימד A.
<sup>3</sup> במלכה P. J.
<sup>5</sup> J. om.
7 אברהם אני 7
9 m P. J.
<sup>11</sup> P. J. add הבורא
עליון <sup>13</sup> P. J., מעליהן O.
15 הבדלו O. P. J.
ים שבחר P.
O. ואברהם ויצחק ואני <sup>19</sup>
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² ותירם A. 4 708 P. ⁶ J. adds אבינו אני ⁸ O. יס ממעי יים О. ¹² אותו P. J. יו והגביל ¹⁴ P. ם מה' ¹⁶ O. ¹⁸ P. J. add אבותינו 20 מיטביעכם P. J.

²¹ אבותינו P.J. ²² ומי הוא ישיעיטה כמוהו ואין מי שיעיטה במוהו ואין מי שיעיטה כמוהו ואין מי שיעיטה במוהו ואין מי שיעיטה מוהו ואין מי שיעיטה מישיטה אבותינו ויי .0 זאת מפאת 23 מי שיעיטה במעיטיו P. J.

²⁵ DTM O. ²⁴ בחו P. J., וחו A. ²⁶ P. J. om. 27 עד רגליו מ' ישמע P. J., יבים מעיניו A. ישבו ישמע A. יבים מעיניו O.

וממוחו יבין. ומחוטמו יריח. ומקניהו' יוציא קול. ומוושטו׳ יכניס מאכל ומשתה. ומלשונו ידבר. ובפיו יגמור. ביריו ' יעשה מלאבתו. ובלבו יחשוב. ובטחולו ישחק. הבכבידו יכעום. וקיבתו מוחנת. וברגליו הולד. וריאה׳ בריאה לנפש. ומכליותיו נעוץ. ואין אחד מאיבריו יתחלף מאומנותו אלא כל אחד בשלו. לפיכך " נאה" לאדם לשום על לבו מכל " אילו מי הוא שבראו ומי הוא שיצרו מטיפה באושה" במעי האשה. ומי הוא" שמוציאו לאור העולם ונתן לו ראיית" עינים והילוך רגלים ומעמידו ומציגו" על בוריו" ועל מכונו ותיכן לו גמולין טובים במקום בינה. וזרק בו נשמת חיים ורוח מהרה מאתו." ואשרי אדם אשר לא יטנת את" רוח אלהים" הקדושה אשר שמה ונפחה " בקרבו. ואשריו אם ישיבינה " מהורה לבוראה כיום " אשר הופקדה בו: עד הנה דברי נפתלי בן ישראל אשר הוכיח לבניו בנופת מיתוק חיכו":

סליקא צואת נפתלי בן ⁴ יעקב:

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ט ומקנה ו
                                           ים ובכועיו ב O.
                                           4 ובידיו O. P.
<sup>3</sup> P. om.
                                           <sup>6</sup> וקצתו J., wrong.
ז יצחק ז.
7 ובריאה P. J.
                                           s יעוין P. J.
יולפיכך פ О.
                                          <sup>10</sup> נראה O; P. J. add לו
                                          יס אלה <sup>12</sup> O.
ו P. J.
13 בחושה P. J.
                                          11 J. om.
15 ראות J.
                                          <sup>16</sup> ומשיגו O.
סברייו <sup>17</sup> בדיו J.
                                          <sup>18</sup> מאתו O. P. J., מאתו A.
                                          20 Rest is missing in P. and J.
<sup>19</sup> O. om.
                                          ישיבונה 🖭 О.
O. ולקחה ומ
23 ביום O.
                        21 10H O.
                                          25 73 O.
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A SEMITIC LOAN-WORD IN EGYPTIAN.

By W. MAX MÜLLER.

Mr. Griffith has found a new Egyptian word ייי אוף and compared it with the root אור (*Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 93, 310). The comparison is very successful, only I should give a modified explanation.

The original meaning of the root - "to turn (oneself)" is, in the northern Semitic languages, specialized to "to turn oneself away from something," and in Hebrew is furthermore narrowed to "to turn away from a standard, a law," i.e., [1] from God and morality (in general), [2] from truth (in particular)." Thus means "to become or be corrupt, perverted" (Jer. xxiii, 11, etc.), Hiphil: "to corrupt, pervert a person formerly good" (Dan. xi, 32), "to pollute a thing formerly clean" (Jer. iii, 1, etc.). While examining the Biblical passages with the Concordance, I observe that the second meaning of the root is more recent. The adjective "perverted" has, especially in all earlier passages, the general meaning "impious, wicked," which the LXX aptly renders ἀσεβής, παράνομος, and Fuerst (Concordance) ought to have seen that the later sense "hypocrite, simulator" (given sub e) does not fit; compure even Psalm xxxv, 16, Prov. xi, 9. But some passages in the book of Job with its peculiar style (6th century) show this aramaizing limitation of sense (xv, 34; xxxiv, 30; possibly also xxxvi, 13); the LXX here renders twice ὑποκρίτης, and post-Christian Hebrew knows only the sense "inwardly corrupted, false, hypocrite" for Applied to things this would be "false" in opposition to "genuine."

This must be the sense of the word hpp where it occurs on the Egyptian weights. The lighter standards ($\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{5}$ of the full weight) are legitimate, as the official inscription shows, but nevertheless their inferiority to the old-fashioned, sacred, full weight is expressed. Most likely, at the time when the new standards were first introduced, they met with opposition from the government or the public

and so obtained the designation "the false weight." This designation seems to have been maintained even after that opposition had ceased.

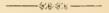
The root אָבוֹם is preserved in the Coptic ໝλος "turpis, obscoenus" (Peyron, 291). Now Coptic pronunciation frequently changes \mathfrak{n} and λ before some lip-sounds but not, as far as I know, before \mathfrak{q} . Therefore, I prefer to see here a confusion of the roots $\mathfrak{M}f($ "to change" (malo sensu, as in Syriac) and $\mathfrak{k}nf($ "to pervert" caused by their similar meaning and similar sound (at least in the western dialects not distinguishing between \mathfrak{k} and \mathfrak{k}). Such a confusion is assumed in the Syriac dictionaries sub

All these reasons lead to the conclusion that $\mathfrak{W} \lambda \circ \mathfrak{Q}$ as well as $\mathfrak{h}n\mathfrak{h}$ is a loan-word from the Aramaic or an aramaizing dialect. Both the passages for the commercial expression $\mathfrak{h}n\mathfrak{h}$ date from the 6th century, when the Aramaic influence prevailed throughout Syria, and especially the position of Aramaic as the language of commerce had been already established for several centuries. $\mathfrak{W} \lambda \circ \mathfrak{Q}$ once may have been identical with $\mathfrak{h}n\mathfrak{h}$, but betrays the more vulgar pronunciation. As for its vowels the verb $\mathfrak{h}la\mathfrak{h}h$ and not the adjective underlies the form. Observe with $\mathfrak{h}n\mathfrak{h}$ the sign $\mathfrak{W} - \mathfrak{W}$ which, like Demotic \mathfrak{H} (preserved in the old Coptic of Akhmim), expresses a special sound fluctuant between \mathfrak{F} and softer \mathfrak{h} , and is intended to represent the Palestinian \mathfrak{h} (\mathfrak{M}) which Coptic usually changes to \mathfrak{W} .

I hope Semitists can accept my explanation of the word hap, although there is a gap in the argument, since the application of to things is still to be discovered in later Hebrew. However, we know but little of the Semitic jargon spoken in the commercial cities especially in those of Lower Egypt. The scraps preserved in Coptic give evidence that in later times it contained elements taken from various Semitic dialects and that the Egyptians made a kind of "pigeon-Semitic" of it, not much superior to the Chinese "pigeon-English." These mutilations seem to have prevented most Egyptologists from seeing the enormous number of Semitic words in Coptic. An exhaustive examination of the Coptic dictionary by Semitists would yield very interesting results.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 6th March, 1894, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Rev. C. J. Ball, M.A., (Oxon.):—More Glimpses of Babylonian Religion.



ERRATA.

Page 14, line 8, for nin-gim-gim.ma, read nin-gim-gim-ma.

,, ,, 9, ,, S.P., read D.P.

,, ,, ,, io, ,, ašzi-šu, read ašri-šu.

, ,, 11, ,, Hû-ma, read Ilû-ma.

,, ,, 26, ,, Ura, read Uru.

Page 15, line 8, ,, Izi-Aku, read Iri-Aku.

,, ,, 10, ,, Gulkšar, read Gulkišar.



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Society of Biblical Archæology.

COUNCIL, 1894.

President.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XVI. TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION.

Fifth Meeting, March 6th, 1894.

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A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1893-94.

Fifth Meeting, 6th March, 1894.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President
in the Chair.

The President announced with great regret the loss the Society had recently suffered by the decease of one of its Honorary Members, Professor Johannes Dümichen, of Strasburg, so distinguished as an Egyptologist.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Minister of the Interior of the Netherlands:—
Aegyptische Monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum
van Oudheden te Leyden. 3 vols. in 4, folio.

From the Author:—Prof. E. Sachau (*Hon.* Member). Orien talische Philologie (mit ausschluss der Indischen). "Die Deutschen Universitäten." 8vo. 1894.

No. cxxi.]

From the Author:—M. B. Nikolsky. L'inscription cunéiforme de Kölany-Kirlany (Alutschalu) et autres inscriptions inédites de l'Arménie Russe. 8vo. Moscow, 1893.

From the Secretary of State for India in Council:—Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLI. The Satapatha-Brâhmana. Part III. 8vo. Oxford, 1894.

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Le Necropoli Pelasgiche d'Italia e le origini Italiche. (Civiltà Cattolica. Serie XV. Vol. IX.) 1894.

From Thos. Hunter Boyd. Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, by Vivant Denon. Translated by Arthur Aikin. 3 vols., 8vo. Plates. London, 1803.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 6th February, 1894, and elected members of the Society:—

Miss Scull, 2, Langland Gardens, Hampstead, N.W. Miss Rosalind F. E. Paget, 5, Montague Street, W.C.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 1st May, 1894:—

Ambrose Bury, Rockfells House, Harcourt Street, Dublin. Mortimer Rooke, 5, Eccleston Houses, St. George's Road. Alan Henderson Gardiner, 25, Tavistock Square, W.C. Miss Frances Anna Hughes, Bryn-y-Menai, Bangor. Miss Caroline Churchill, Trenant, Wilbury Road, Hove.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—
The Lyceum Library, Liverpool.

A Paper was read by the Rev. C. J. Ball, "Israel and Babylon," which will be issued in the next Part of the *Proceedings*.

Remarks were added by the Rev. James Marshall, Miss Ingram, the Rev. Dr. Löwy, Thomas Tyler, and the Rev. C. J. Ball.

Thanks were returned for this communication.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER LXXVIII—(continuation).

I am invested with the soul of Horus, so that I see what is in it, and when I speak hard by the Doors of Shu they respond to the moment. (9)

It is I who have charge of the seisin of the inheritance of Horus from Osiris at the Tuat.

It is I, even I, who am Horus in Glory. I am master of his diadem, I am master of his Light, and I advance to the Goal of Heaven. Horus is on his seat, Horus is upon his throne.

My face is that of the Sacred Hawk, my back that of the Sacred Hawk: I am equipped as his master.

I come forth to Tattu, that I may see Osiris.

I incline myself before him, I incline myself to Nut: they behold me, and the gods behold me; the Eye of Horus and the Flame which is in the Two Eyes. They stretch out their arms to me. And I stand erect and prevail in opposition to evil.

They open to me the bright paths; they open to me the bright paths; they see my attributes, they listen to my words.

Hail to you, ye gods of the Tuat, ye of repellent face and aggressive front, who tow along the Stars which set, and make the bright paths of the Hematit (10) for the Lord of the Soul Most Mighty: Horus hath ordained that ye should lift up your faces and look upon me.

And I display myself as the Sacred Hawk whom Horus hath invested with his soul for taking the possession of his inheritance from Osiris at the Tuat.

I set aside the long-haired gods and passed on through those who had charge of their dens in my sight: I made my way and passed on and reached those who presided over their caverns, and those who had charge of the House of Osiris; and I speak to them,

and make them recognize the god of Mighty Terrors, who is armed with horns against Sutu. I make them recognize who it is that hath seized for himself the divine provisions and hath equipped himself with the powers of Tmu.

A gracious pass grant they to me, the gods of the Tuat, as many as there are who preside over their caverns and have charge of the House of Osiris.

Behold me, I am come to you and have carried off and put together my forms (11)

I make bright the paths which are in the Horizon and the Hematit in Heaven. I make firm the battlements on behalf of Osiris, and I make the paths bright in his behalf.

I have done according to the command that I should come forth to Tattu to see Osiris, and tell him of the fortunes of that great Son of his whom he loveth, and who hath pierced the heart of Sutu. I have seen the death.

Yea, I tell them the divine plans which Horus carried out in the absence of his father Osiris.

O Lord of the Soul Most Mighty, behold me; I come, raise thou me up that I may see the Tuat.

May all the paths which are in Heaven and upon earth be open to me, and let there be no repulse for me.

Thou art exalted upon thy throne, Osiris; thine hearing is good, Osiris; thy back is strong, Osiris; thy head, Osiris, is firmly fastened, thy throat is made fast, thine heart is glad, thou art confident in the strength and courage of those around thee. Thou art established in strength as the Bull of Amenta.

Thy son Horus is seated upon thy throne, and all that liveth is subject to him. Endless generations are at his service, endless generations are in fear of him; the cycle of the gods is in fear of him, the cycle of the gods is at his service. So saith Tmu, the Sole Force of the gods; not to be altered is that which he hath spoken.

Horus is the offering and the altar of offering; twofold of aspect; it is Horus who hath reconstituted his father and restored him. Horus is the father, Horus is the mother, Horus is the brother, Horus is the kinsman. Horus proceedeth from the essence of his father and the corruption which befell him.

He ruleth over Egypt, and the gods are in his service. He hath carried off endless generations, and given life to endless generations with his Eye; the sole one of its Lord, the Inviolate one.

Notes.

This chapter is seldom found in the complete shape which it has in the Turin *Todtenbuch*. The shortest copy of it is that in the tomb of Horhotep (*Miss. Arch. Fr.*, p. 158); it has but a few lines; but they are very important, as giving the earliest form of the formula which is an invocation to the battlements. The common reading, which adds the pronominal suffix both to the verb and to its subject, is ungrammatical. The papyri *Au*, *Pg*, and *Ij*, rightly omit the suffix after the verb, in the early part of the chapter.

The coffin of Amamu has a chapter of the same title, but with quite a different text.

- 1. Sacred Hawk. Between this and the Golden Hawk of the last chapter the vignettes make no distinction but that of colour, which is indicative of age rather than of kind. The typical Egyptian Hawk may be identified with the Falco Lanarius, or with the Peregrinus, but naturalists tell us that "the Lanier of Buffon is the perfect state of the male Peregrinus," and that "the Lanner of Pennant is a young female Peregrine."
 - 2. Thy powers, baiu.
- 3. The goal $\begin{tabular}{ll} \begin{tabular}{ll} \begin{tabul$

"signum unde reverti.

"Scirent, et longos ubi circumflectere cursus." *

4. Invested Ω , which is connected with $\overline{\Omega}$. The determinative Ω is the symbol of investiture, which is also expressed by the sign $\overline{\Omega}$. A mummied person is called $S\bar{a}hu$, in virtue of his investiture.

- 5. Apple of the eye, literally point, thorn; .

 6. The Nemmes is the royal head-dress in the form of a wig. This chapter is the only one in the Book of the Dead in which it is referred to, but other religious texts mention it. It is one of the objects provided for the deceased in the pictures of ancient coffins. (See Aelteste Texte, p. 35.)
- 7. [Aahat.] In this plan different MSS. introduce one or more words followed by the sign A, determinative of divinity. But the whole text which follows is extremely unsatisfactory. The prudent scribe who copied P_g has the words "I am the great god," and with them ends the chapter.
 - 8. Fall upon Shu, or before Shu, who represents Daylight.
- 9. The passage is obscure through the absence of the right determinative after . The portals of Shu, the gates of Morning, answer the summons of the god who comes as Horus. has the sense of obviam ire, occurrere.

 10. Hematit 8 , a place near the Horizon, not
- mentioned in the Book of the Dead except in this chapter. It has disappeared in the later recensions.
- 11. Here follow one or two divine names unknown to the copyists, and by them written at random.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of the Chief god of the Divine Cycle.

Hail to thee, Tmu, Lord of Heaven, who givest motion to all things which come into being; thou who comest forth from the Earth and createst whatsoever is begotten: Lord of the things which are; who givest birth to the gods; great god, self-produced; Lord of Life, who givest vigour to the men now living:

Hail to you, ye Lords of pure things, ye whose abodes are hidden:

Hail to you, ye Lords of Eternity, ye whose attributes are concealed, and the place where ye reside is unknown.

Hail to you, ye gods who are in the divine circuit and the Kabhu; ye gods who are in Amenta and ye, O Divine Cycle which is in Heaven:

Let me come to you, let me be purified and strengthened, let me be enriched and gifted with power, let me have possession and glory.

I bring in offering to you perfume, incense and natron. Stop ye the outpourings of your hearts against me. I am come to put a stop to all the wrong things which are in your hearts, and to do away with the false charges which have been made to you.

But I bring in offering to you well-being.* I lift up in offering to you Maāt.

I know you and I know your names, and I know your attributes, though it be not known what by you may be brought to pass.

I come before you and make my appearance as that god in the form of a man who liveth like a god, and I stand out before you in the form of that god who is raised high upon his pedestal, to whom the gods come with acclamation, and the female deities with jubilation, when they see him.

I come before you and make my appearance on the seat of Rā, and I sit upon my seat which is on the Horizon, and receive the offerings upon their altars. I drink the sacred liquor each evening, in the form of the Lord of all creatures, and I am exalted like that venerable god the Lord of the Great House, whom the gods rejoice at seeing at his beautiful comings forth from the womb of Nut, to whom Nut each day giveth birth.

CHAPTER LXXX.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of the god who giveth Light to the Darkness.

It is I who complete the vesture of Nu, the Light which shineth before him, lighting up the darkness. I unite with the two brothergods who are upon me through the mighty Words of Power of my mouth. I raise up the fallen one who cometh after me. I fall along with him in the vale of Abydos when I go to rest.

I have seized upon Hu from the place in which I found him. And I have lifted off the darkness through my power. I have rescued the Eye from its eclipse against the coming of the Fifteenth day, and balanced Sutu in the mansions above, against the Great one who is with him.

I have equipped Thoth [with light] in the house of the Moon.

I seize upon the Crown. Maāt is upon me, and the Emerald and the Crystal of her months.

This field of mine is of Azure in the festival thereof.

I lighten up the darkness and overthrow the devouring monsters. (1)

Those who are in their own darkness worship me, and they rise up to me, covering their faces, who mourn and are prostrate: look ye therefore upon me.

I am the Craftsman (2) of Nu, but I come not up in order that you should hear of this.

I am the Craftsman of Nu, who lighteneth the darkness, and I have come to dissipate the darkness, and that light should be.

Notes.

- 1, Devouring monsters, O DA
- 2. The later recensions have $\stackrel{\smile}{\smile}$ or $\stackrel{\smile}{\smile}$ $\stackrel{\smile}{\smile}$ $\stackrel{\smile}{\smile}$ wife. The older papyri omit the feminine ending, which is inconsistent with the rest of the chapter. I understand $\stackrel{\smile}{\smile}$ $\stackrel{\smile}{\smile}$, in the sense of artist, craftsman.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of the Lotus.

I am the pure Lotus which cometh forth from the glory which is at the nostril of $R\bar{a}$, and I make my journey and pursue it for Horus, the great god beloved.

I am the pure Lotus which cometh forth in the field.

NOTE.

This little chapter is not without its special difficulty. Are we to read \square as a word implying motion, with \triangle as its



BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER LXXVII.
Papyrus of Ani, British Museum.



CHAPTER LXXVIII.
Papyrus of Ani, British Museum.



CHAPTER LXXVIII.
LEPSIUS, "Todt."



CHAPTER LXXVIII.

Leiden Papyrus,
T. 16.



CHAPTER LXXVIII.
LEPSIUS, "Todt."



CHAPTER LXXIX.
Papyrus du Louvre, III, 89.



CHAPTER LXXIX.
Papyrus of Sutimes, Bibl. Nat.



CHAPTER LXXXI.
Papyrus of Ani, British Museum.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER LXXXIII. Papyrus of Ani, British Museum.



Papyrus of Nebseni, British Museum, No. 9900. CHAPTER LXXXIA.



CHAPTER LXXXII. Papyrus of Ani, British Museum.



CHAPTER LXXXIV. Papyrus of Ani, British Museum.



CHAPTER LXXXIII. Papyrus, Berlin Museum, No. 2.

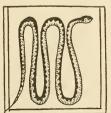
CHAPTER LXXXV. Papyrus du Louvre, III, 89.



CHAPTER LXXXVI. Papyrus, Leyden Museum, II.



CHAPTER LXXXVI. Papyrus of Ani, British Museum.



CHAPTER LXXXVII. Papyrus, Berlin Museum, No. 1.



determinative, or as implying invocation, with β as its determinative? The copyists differed and some of them changed the word into β so that there should be no ambiguity. But this does not clear up the words which immediately follow; hence Ba has suppressed them, whilst other copyists have given themselves no trouble as to the sense of what they wrote.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of Ptah, eateth bread, drinketh beer, and sitteth in the midst of the great gods.

I fly like the Hawk, I cackle like the Smen-goose, I alight on the right side of the Aat, on the feast of the Great One.

I execrate, I execrate: I eat it not. Dirt is what I execrate: I eat it not. That which my Genius execrateth let it not enter into me.

Let me therefore live upon that which is put before them; the gods and the glorified ones. Let me live and enjoy the bread and * Let me then eat them in the presence of the gods and glorified ones. Let me enjoy and eat them under the foliage of the date trees of Hathor, my sovereign. Let the oblations be made, of bread and beer in Tattu, and bendings of the head in Annu. Let my vesture be girt upon me by Tait. Let me sit whereever it pleaseth me.

My head is that of $R\bar{a}$ and I am summed up as Tmu: Four times the arm's length of $R\bar{a}$: four times the width of the world. (1)

I have come forth with the tongue of Ptah and the throat of Hathor that I may record the words of my father Tmu with my mouth, which draweth to itself the Spouse of Seb, and the proclamation of whose lips inspireth fear.

I repeat the acclamations at my success on being declared the heir of the Lord of Earth, Seb, from whom I issue.

Seb purifieth me, and giveth me his Theophanies. (2) The dwellers in Annu bow their heads to me. I am their Master. I am their Bull. More powerful am I than the Lord of Time; I am the author and the master of endless years.

^{*} The word seems to have been unintelligible to the copyists, who differ widely from each other as to its orthography.

Notes.

- implies a quadrangular figure, and so do implies a quadrangular figure, and west, are not cardinal points or angles, but sides.
- 2. Theophanies, This is the true meaning of the word, whether in reference to the Sun rising in the sky or to the king upon his throne.



- (1.) M. LEFÉBURE AND THE 前员 AT ABYDOS.
- (2.) THE TITLE TO TO

By W. E. CRUM.

After reading, in the Proceedings, Vol. XV, p. 433 ff., M. Lefébure's very interesting explanation of certain passages in the Book of the Dead and of those funeral rites to which he holds them to refer, I wrote to him drawing his attention to a text of the XIIth dynasty which seems to deal with the same ceremonies. This text is found upon a fine stele, published by Dümichen,* the original being in the Glyptothek at Munich,† where I made a copy of it. The following is my copy of the lines here in question, with Dümichen's variants:-

[D.] 二人多人的人的人的人。 = 1 1 0 0 0 17) PILL DO 5 1 6 1

^{*} Kalenderinschriften, 43. † No. 27.

‡ Can this be connected with the title Leyden, V. 4, 2, 多一点:

"When I voyaged northward to pay my respects to the honorable court (lit. that court) of his majesty, the officials that were in the king's abode and the abiders in the judgment-hall beheld my introduction at the king's abode, I doing as one that enters and speaks

- * Cf. Sharpe, I, 79, 6, where nt'aaut seems to mean "exercise offices."
- † *Ḥmst*, instead of the \bigcap usual here.
- ‡ Dümichen's reading is no doubt correct; mine is untranslatable.
- § Seems the oldest form of the word; v. Ppáa II, 976. Is M. Lefébure justified in identifying it, so early, with the equally ancient word
 - || For these phrases v. Rec. X, 145.
 - ¶ Leyden V. 4, 13, Cf. ? Siut, pl. 6, 275,
 - ** The right reading,

not (?). An ox was slaughtered with (= in addition to) my provisions. When (?) I arose (lit. raised feet) to go forth, I was praised at court and beloved in the palace. I had offices assigned to me at court, namely (those of) Overseer of the prophets and Chief $\dot{a}mi\chi nt$ -priest in Abydos. Each of my posts was distinguished beyond (those of) my fathers that were before. His majesty allowed me to slaughter oxen in the temple of Osiris χnti $\dot{a}mntiu$, in Abydos of the Thinite nome; and I went forth over the hides there, owing to the greatness (of the favour) with which his majesty favoured me, beyond every noble that had been there since its origin (i.e., the temple's); (my) statues having been placed in the temple, in the service of the "Great God"; (his majesty?) establishing for them meat-offerings (?) and endowing their bread-offerings in writing."

We may infer, therefore, that the skins used in this Abydos rite were those of the oxen previously sacrificed.

M. Lefébure writes; "La question serait de savoir si, d'après le contexte, la stèle parle d'un sacrifice fait pendant la vie ou après la mort du personnage. Si c'est de son vivant, il a été son propre , ou approchant.* Cette cérémonie se compliquait certainement d'un sacrifice humain, réel ou fictif. Dans le tombeau de Mentuherkhepeshf, les deux étrangers à immoler sont enveloppés et couchés à terre, ce à quoi fait sans doute allusion une statue du Louvre (A. 65,) , "j'ai disposé l'enveloppe de l'impie (mis) sous les pieds." A Philæ, Osiris n'est pas décapité dans Tanen; A Philæ I, 4I,) tandis que Sineh a des l'enveloppe de l'impie (mis) sous les pieds." A Philæ, Osiris n'est pas décapité dans Tanen; A Philæ I, 4I,) tandis que Sineh a des l'enveloppe de l'impie (mis) sous les pieds." A Philæ, Osiris n'est pas décapité dans Tanen; A Philæ I, 4I,) tandis que Sineh a des l'enveloppe de l'impie (mis) sous les pieds." A Philæ, Osiris n'est pas décapité dans Tanen;

It certainly would appear that the sacrifice had taken place, with the rest of the incidents related, during the speaker's life. Yet the statements of such inscriptions might easily mislead us, at first sight, upon these points. The other stele, for example, which the same person dedicated and which is now in Leyden,† employs many expressions that would be held to refer to one already dead,—

^{*} M. Lefébure refers to the description of these rites in Méms. de la Mission
V, 439 ff (Tomb of Mntu ḥr χ, šf.)
† V.

records of offices exercised and honours obtained and those declarations of piety and charity which recall the Book of the Dead, ch. 25, -did we not know, from the date upon the Munich stele, that the dedicator of both lived some years longer.*

The stele at Munich has other features of interest. The opening "proscynema" is followed by a form of the offering-list not to be found, so far as I know, except during the earlier years of the Middle kingdom.† Then comes the usual festival-calendar and, after it (and again in l. 15,) a blank space from which the name and titles of the dedicator have been carefully erased, as on his other stele, at Leyden; though there the erasures are not such as to make the signs illegible.

It may be useful to give here the more important variants between Dümichen's copy and mine (distinguished as D. and C.). There are besides, many smaller divergencies, scarcely worth noting; such, for instance, as those in the curious list of divinities (Il. 7, 8,) which can be controlled from the two similar lists at Paris § and Turin, || or D. || O, C. || O, C. || O, C. || O, T. || O, C. || O, T. || O,

C. \bigcap_{t} , &c. More noteworthy are :—
L. 6; D. \bigcap_{t} , C. \bigcap_{t} . The phrase $\theta nut \ nb(t) \ rnpt \ 5 \ hru$, "(on) each of the five extra days," can be best paralleled in Sharpe I, 25.¶

* The date at Leyden is Usrtsn I, year 44 = Amnmhāt II, year 2; that at Munich is indistinct, but cannot be earlier than Amnmhat II, year 6 and is probably at least year 13. Erman (Aegypten, 234,) takes the Leyden date to be that of the dedicator's death. If that be so, the date at Munich must rather indicate the time at which the stele was erected as a posthumous memorial. But in that case, we might expect the formula,

&c., or the like.

+ The other examples; Piehl, 82, A. Sharpe, I, 25, Louvre, C. 14, Abydos, II, 53A.

Erman, I.I. Whether from design or accident, the other recurrences of the name and titles, in each of the inscriptions, have remained undamaged.

§ Louvre, C. 15.

for A.Z '81 18 = Rec. III, 115. For D. \bigcirc \\ \sqrt{1}, \quad \\ \emptyreq \quad \quad \\ \emptyreq \quad \qua

here possible.

L. 7; D. $\bigcap_{i=1}^{n} \bigcap_{j=1}^{n} \bigcap_{i=1}^{n} \bigcap_{j=1}^{n} \bigcap_{j=1}$ and recurs, with doubled |, Louvre, C. 15.

-; D. \(\frac{1}{2} \), C. \(\frac{1}{2} \). Cf. Mon. div., 50 b, \(\frac{1}{1} \) \(\frac{1}{2} \), Sharpe II, 36, TI North Rec. XIV, 21, II The sign is undoubtedly an; v. Sharpe II, 83, (collated with the The variation between $w\bar{a}$ and $\bar{a}a$ may perhaps be compared to that in the titles smr uāti and smr āa.

-; D. [] * [] , C. [] * []]. Sba and ssm are found parallel Siut, pl. 6, 264, anuk sba n matiuf, sšmu uru rf; but this does not help us much. Perhaps "initiated in the mysteries."

The next expression, $ma\bar{a}$ sft m ht $n\theta r$, "exact, accurate in sacri-

probably right; he agrees with two* of the four remaining texts of this formula.

-; D. & & (?), C. & & , probably for (v. Sharpe I, 78,); or for (v. Louvre, C. 3, II =).

I had intended here to suggest that the word mska, msk might be an element in the still (so far as I know) unread title so frequent in the Old and not unknown in the Middle Kingdom.

^{*} Cat. d'Abydos, 602, Sharpe I, 78. The others are Louvre, C. 3, and Sharpe II, 86.

But the observation of the variants \uparrow \uparrow pointed indubitably to the word $knmt[\dot{a}]$, in Ppåå I, 776:



where the duplicate, Mrnrā, 772, has provided the result of a misread hieratic group.) The parallelism with $\dot{aa}nw$ (the determinative is strange), and the occurrence of above the picture of one of three apes, Dümichen, Temp. ins., I, 21, suggests that we have here the name of a peculiar species of ape. One of the 42 Assessors of Osiris is likewise named (var.).‡

To discern the primary meaning of the root knm is not quite easy. The phrase Ppåå I, 408 = Mrnrã 584; , "clothed in their woven-raiment," and the fact that the bearer of the title in question is sometimes dressed in a skin, while the priestly title , seems, later on, to imply that costume always, make knm, "to bear a hide," "to be covered, clothed," not improbable.

However, there is no proof that these two titles are identical;

^{*} Rec. XIII, 72, R.I.H., 304.

⁺ L.D. II, 88 a. The variants are collected by Prof. Lushington, Transactions, VII, 366.

[‡] Naville, T.B. II, 303.

[§] Mastaba 167, 218, 249. But this proves little; a skin forms part of the ceremonial dress of several offices, e.g., that of the fig. Cf. too the ancient title and fig. and the use of the words for and fig. (e.g., P. I, 169, ib. 193 = P. II, 918.).

indeed the examples $\begin{picture}(1,0) \put(0,0){\line(0,0){0.5em}} \put(0,$

What is the connection of our *knm* with *Harris* I, 4I, a 7, "a certain stone or clay"? † The history of the roots *anm* and *ab* shows how these words for "skin," "hide" could come to mean also the colours which the skin or hide displayed; and it is likewise possible that the mineral *knm* was of a hue which resembled that of the hide *knmt*.

P.S.—Since writing the above, M. Lefébure has sent me the following quotation from the new *Edfou* (p. 78, pl. 17):—

"Je te présente les veaux de toutes couleurs : je les amène au mystère de ta Mesek-t, ton ciel d'en bas, révéré, aux portes inconnues, enténébré et éternisé pour les rebelles." "C'est ainsi, du moins," says M. Lefébure, "que je comprends la phrase."

* Mastaba 181.

the same, no doubt, as he who appears, hawk-headed, Abydos II. 54, 55, and whose "mysterious vigour" is spoken of (l.l.).

Abydos I, 31 b, &c., again is the title of a priest. This double application—to god and priest—may perhaps be compared to that of Abydos II, 25, 3, L.D. II, 135 h, 11.

‡ Worterbuch, Sup., 1279.

WHERE WAS TARSHISH?

II.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

Tarshish is always mentioned in connection with ships or commerce.

"Thou breakest the ships of Tarshish with an east wind," says the Psalmist (xlviii, 7); who is not King David, but a writer familiar with the works of the Prophets, even of those who lived during the exile. The words just quoted are a direct reference to Ezekiel xxvii, 26: "The East wind hath broken thee [Tyre] in the midst of the seas." The Psalmist identifies Tyre and Tarshish. But he is not the earliest authority for this identification, which cannot be more strongly expressed than in the "Burden of Tyre," in Isaiah xxiii.* This prophecy is perfectly intelligible and clear if by Tarshish we understand Phoenicia; it is absolutely without sense if Tartessus is thought of.

- "Howl ye ships of Tarshish; † for it is laid waste. . . .
- "Be still, ye inhabitants of the isle . . .
- "Pass ye over to Tarshish; howl ye inhabitants of the isle.
- "Pass through thy land as a river, O daughter of Tarshish, there is no more strength.
- "Howl ye ships of Tarshish, for your strength is laid waste."

The Phoenician ships are here called upon to wail for the ruin of Tyre, which was their strength, and now is laid waste. The inhabitants of the isle, that is of the insular Tyre, are told to pass over to Tarshish, the Phoenician coast. Tyre, as the daughter of Tarshish is told to "pass through her land as a river," because there is no more strength. "Pass ye over to Tarshish," עברו תרשישה and "Pass through thy land," עברי ארצך, are exactly equivalent

^{*} For the present argument it matters not whether the prophecy belongs to Isaiah or to a somewhat later contemporary.

⁺ Naves maris in the Vulgate.

expressions, addressed to the population of the island of Tyre, the strength of which was laid waste.

If we are to believe the fabulous stories told by the Greeks, Tartessus was not indeed a colony of the Phoenicians but an El Dorado, whence boundless wealth of gold and silver might be acquired by them at a trifling cost. But why under these circumstances should the fortunes of Tartessus be identified with those of Tyre? Why should the ships of Tartessus be told to howl because "their strength is laid waste?" In what sense could Tyre be called the strength of Tartessus? Tartessus (according to the hypothesis) was rather the strength of Tyre, as furnishing the sinews of war. The ruin of Tyre could not affect the fortunes of Tartessus. I cannot understand how a sensible and profound writer like Ewald could fail to see that the siege of Tyre, however successfully conducted by Shalmaneser, could never produce such an effect as to compel the population of Tartessus to overflow its land in flight, even as the Nile overflows Egypt.* For so he understands v. 10. "daughter of Tarshish" is not Tartessus, but Tyre.

The phophecy of Ezekiel (ch. xxvii) admits the same explanation. Tarshish is Phoenicia, and as the "merchant" of Tyre includes all the kingdoms and cities of its coasts.

The "Ships of Tarshish" here and everywhere else are simply *Phoenician* ships. Such were those of King Solomon (1 Kings x, 22) and those of Jehoshaphat (*ib*. xxii, 48). The Hebrew kings bought or hired ships made by the Phoenicians. That ships of Tartessus should be built on the Elanitic gulph, or that ships should be built there for the purpose of going to Tartessus are absurdities too gross to be admitted, but in order to avoid them one has had recourse to the gratuitous supposition that because the ships going to Tartessus must have been *great* ships, therefore all great ships were called by the Hebrews "Ships of Tartessus," though they never came from or were meant to go in that direction. Before appealing to the analogy of our 'East Indiamen,' it would have been desirable to procure the authority of Semitic usage. When the true sense of Tarshish is understood the supposition in question is at once seen to be needless and idle and extravagant.

It can hardly be necessary to speak of Tarshish in connection with the history of the prophet Jonah, which is always quoted as a

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^{*} And yet he has understood the prophet as recommending the Tyrian population to flee to Tartessus!

proof that Tarshish was accessible by a ship starting from Joppe. This, of course, I do not deny, and such ships as the prophet found there, and was ever likely to find there, were more likely to arrive safely on the Phoenician coast than to reach the Straits of Gibraltar and face the waters of the Atlantic. What could a ship from *Joppe* have to do with Tartessus?

I will refer but to one more Biblical note of Tarshish.* It is mentioned more than once in connection with the *isles*. So is Tyre.

What islands? Islands in the Atlantic?

"The Kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents." So writes the Psalmist, lxxii, 10, who also speaks of Arabian potentates. But his words appear to be a reminiscence of Jeremiah xxv, 22.

"All the Kings of Tyre and all the Kings of Zidon and the Kings of the isles which are by the sea-side," &c.

And so do the words of another Psalm, xlv, 12, "The daughter of Tyre shall be there with a gift."

"Tarshish and the Isles" means 'Phoenicia, both continental† and insular.' All the great towns of Phoenicia had kings of their own, who are frequently mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, but the unity of the Phoenician nation and the common interest was fully recognised.

Why however, it may be asked, did Hebrew writers give the name of Tarshish to Phoenicia? The reason for the name will, I believe, be found in its etymology.

Tarshish, תַּלְשִׁישׁ the broken, is a genuine Hebrew word, which הַּלְבִיּוּר he broke, which הַּלְבִיּוּר the taught (disciple) bears to לְבִיּר he taught. And the application of the term to the sea shore will at once be apparent to those who know how the Greek ἀκτή and ἀγή are connected with ἄγννμι break, and ἡηγμίν with ἡήγννμι, which also signifies break. The kindred word ἡαχία is applied to a rocky shore. Our own word breakers

^{*} Jeremiah (x. 9) says that "Silver spread into plates is brought from Tarshish." This does not help one to identify the place, but it does not tell against Phoenicia, for it certainly was from Phoenician hands that this silver merchandise came to Jerusalem.

[†] In the first draught of this essay I spoke at some length of the relations between Tyre and Palai-tyros. I was perhaps understood as holding the terms Palai-tyros and Tarshish to be equivalent and coextensive. To avoid this misapprehension I now omit the paragraphs which might give occasion to it.

owes its origin to the same conception. The denuding action of water through friction has given rise in our language to the word shore, as something shorn; and the same result is visible in the Semitic אישובע and בונה אין איי בונה איי ב

The characteristic feature of Phoenicia is that it consists merely of a long and extremely narrow line of sea shore, at the foot of hills which tower above it everywhere. Ἡ παραλία Φοινίκη . . στενή τις καὶ ἀλιτενής is the accurate description of it given by Strabo (xvi, 21). That portion of it which lies opposite to Aradus (one of the "isles") he calls ῥαχιώδης τις παραλία, which is really the most accurate translation that can be given of the name of Tarshish. Though a continuation of the maritime plain beginning from the desert at the south, there is nothing in Phoenicia corresponding to the Shephelah of the Philistines or to the plain of Sharon, no room for the vast cornfields or the rich pastures of the southern country. It was marked out not for agricultural but for maritime enterprise. And Tarshish was a most appropriate designation as applied to it by its Hebrew neighbours.

If Tarshish be the equivalent of $\partial \kappa \tau \dot{\eta}$ and $\partial \eta \gamma \mu \dot{\nu} v$, it is easy to understand how it came at a later time to be interpreted by the Chaldee και and by $\theta \dot{\alpha} \lambda a \sigma \sigma a$ and mare. For the Hebrew has the sense of plaga occidentalis, and is often used in the sense of west without the least reference to the sea. But in Isaiah xxiii, 4, is a actually said of Tyre itself. "Dicit mare, i.e., urbs maritima (Tyrus)." Such, according to Gesenius, is the interpretation of the passage. This, it is true, is poetical language, but so is every passage in which the name of Tarshish occurs; not even excepting Gen. x, 4.

The evidence which lies before us is, I believe, sufficient to convince us that when the sacred writers mention Tarshish they mean Phoenicia, and that the name is an appropriate one, but on the farther question as to how far and by whom independently of the sacred writers the name was recognised as the geographical designation of the country, it is impossible, in the absence of all evidence, even to hazard a conjecture.

^{*} Ez. xxv, 16, "I will stretch out mine hand upon the Philistines, and I will cut off the Cherethims, and destroy the remnants of the sea coast, הוֹלְתְּ הִים."

The Phoenicians are probably designed under the last of these designations. Cf. Jeremiah xlvii, 4, "To spoil all the Philistines, and to cut off from Tyrus and Zidon every helper that remaineth."

ON THE PHONETIC VALUE OF THE SIGN =

By P. J. DE HORRACK.

As is well known, the sign coften takes the place of in the Royal titles, from whence it was concluded, that its sound was that of , viz. mer and mä, mäi, the final letter r having afterwards fallen off. The reading mä was adopted by the late M. Chabas, in his translation of the 1st Anastasi-papyrus,* for groups in which the sign enters as a phonetic value. But in 1874 † M. Brugsch proposed the reading , and applied it to a great many expressions compound with . However strong were the proofs of this value, brought forward by the learned Egyptologist, they did not appear conclusive to some scholars, although others; adhered to the new reading. It is true, that these eminent authorities cite instances of thaving apparently the value , is but on the other hand, the old reading rests on a much firmer basis and is, as will be seen, absolutely certain.

In addition to the already known variant furnished by the group , M. Karl Piehl has recently produced two more instances in proof of the sound , ma, (Proceedings, XIV, p. 45), and I now beg to point out some further examples, which were chiefly obtained by comparison with each other, of the numerous lists of funereal offerings, where the sign ccurs in

^{*} Voyage d'un Egyptien, p. 103.

⁺ Zeitschrift, p. 143, and Lexicon, V, p. 26.

[‡] P. le Page Renouf, Proc. VI, p. 99; W. Max Müller, Asien und Europa, p. 79.

[§] See J. de Rougé, Textes géo., p. 38; P. le Page Renouf, Transactions, II, p. 304; Maspero, Mel. d'Arch., II, p. 298; Karl Piehl, Recueil d. T., II, p. 30, and Dict. du pap. Harris, p. 39.

the name of the object called ____.* In these lists, from the earliest times down to the XIXth dynasty, this group is placed

between and and in the corresponding place shows the

following variants, viz .:-

tombs at Saqqarah, of the IVth and VIth dynasty, (Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 119 and following).

temple of Semneh, XVIIIth dynasty (Lepsius, Denkm., III, pl. 48, 6).

tomb of Ptah-hotep, IVth dynasty (Duemichen, Resultate, XIII, l. 6).

tomb at Saqqarah, Vth dynasty (Mariette, Mastabas, p. 269; and Recueil d. T., vol. III, Unas, l. 125).

An alliteration contained in a text of Mariette's Abydos (I, plate 33, 4)

Temple of Seti I at Abydos

has been already quoted by M. Le Page Renouf (Proceedings, IV, p. 63). The same passage occurs in Seti's tomb at Thebes (Mission française au Caire, vol. II, 3e partie, XIII, 25). The sign appears also in the name of the tassel † generally written, , ; where the following variants yield the value , viz.:

Sarcophagi of the Mentu-hotep, XIth dynasty (Lepsius, *Aelt. Texte*, pp. 6, 21 and 23).

Tomb at Beni-Hassan, XIIth dynasty (Champollion, Notices, II, p. 343).

Temple of Seti I (Mariette, Abydos, I, p. 50).

^{*} Duemichen, Hist. Insch., I, pl. 36, l. 26; ib., II, pl. 6, l. 7; and Lepsius, Aelt. Texte, pl. 10, l. 12.

[†] Brugsch, Lexicon, p. 601.

Lepsius, Aelt. Texte. pp. 41 and 42.

I confine myself to pointing out the above instances, in support of the value , as one of the sounds, if not the sound, assigned to the character, when used phonetically in compound groups. It will be noticed that is, in many cases, followed by the bar, I, which, according to M. Erman,* may be considered as a kind of determinative added to substantives which are written with one single sign and without any other determinative.

With regard to the meaning of the group mast, it is by no means clear. The word occurs in the well-known passage of the d'Orbiney-papyrus (p. 16, 4) where the Princess asks the King to let her eat the $\longrightarrow \bigcap_{Q} \overrightarrow{mast}$, of the Bull. Here it has generally been translated liver, and elsewhere by M. Chabas great intestine.† Mr. Brugsch has suggested, that mast may have some connection with the name of Amset, one of the four funereal genii, who presides over the embalmed viscera. The determinatives which accompany the said group are generally Q and P, but in some instances a special sign, λ , is attached to it. It is illustrated by a picture in a tomb at Saggarah, described by Mariette,§ representing a servant who brings on his left shoulder the leg of a slaughtered animal and offers as sacrifice in his extended right hand, the object above figured, which is painted in red and called 0, mast, in the descriptive text. Hence it would seem that it represents an internal organ of the animal's body, perhaps the stomach. The group $\frac{}{}$ occurs several times in the Eberspapyrus (pp. 36, l. 9; 66, 5; 67, 7), but in neither passage does the context give any clue to its exact meaning.

[§] Mastabas, pp. 274 and 277.



^{*} Aegyptische Grammatik, § 51. † Pierret, Lexicon, p. 226.

[‡] Lexicon, p. 589; compare also P. le Page Renouf, Proceedings VIII, p. 248.

A MINÆAN INSCRIPTION OF THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD.

By Prof. Dr. Fritz Hommel.

According to these undoubtedly correct explanations of Prof. Golenisheff, the above inscription mentions not only a certain Zaid-il son of Zaid of Zairân as dedicator, but also the Egyptian deities Athar-hap (= Osiris-Apis, Serapis) and Hat-hor (house of Horus, i.e., Hathor), the Egyptian month Khoyak (written כיון: and above all the Egyptian king Ptolemæos son of Ptolemæos (تلمیث ی تلمیث); with the latter name, Prof. Golenisheff compares the Aramaic transcription פתלמים (Clerm. Ganneau, Recueil d'Arch. Orient., p. 81). The inscription was therefore written about 250 B.C., since Ptolemæos son of Ptolemæos is probably Ptolemæos II. Philadelphus (286-247 B.C.). The most remarkable circumstance concerning this is, that the language of the inscription is not of the Sabæan dialect, but is the Minæan, which Dr. Edward Glaser and myself regarded as the oldest representative of the South Arabian literary dialects, and in general older than the oldest Sabæan of the inscriptions of the so-called Mukarribs (priestkings) of Saba. And now we have a Minæan inscription dating from the time of one of the Ptolemies!

Yet if we investigate the matter closer, what a difference is there between the old Minæan inscriptions and this one! There the names of one or two Minæan kings, the worship of many different Minæan deities (e.g., Athar, Wadd, Nikrah, etc.), the names of national Minæan months (e.g., خضر), here the name of an Egyptian king with a date of his reign, merely Egyptian deities and the name of an Egyptian month! In my opinion, there is an interval here of several centuries, perhaps even of a thousand years. But allow the inscription to speak for itself, of which I will give a transliteration and my own translation, the more so, because Prof. Golenisheff has only rendered the above cited phrases.

That is in Arabic and Hebrew transliteration:*

(۱) نَفْقی کزَیْدالِ بِی زَیْد دظیرِی ذَوْب دَسعرِب أَمررِن دِقِحِ حِیْبِتِهِ کَ بِیْد بِعَیْدِر اللهِ الله الله عَیْدِرد

* I transcribe \uparrow with ψ (which is the etymological equivalent of it) and ω , the min.-Sabæan \geqslant with ψ (originally \check{s} or sh!) and $\check{\omega}$, and lastly $\check{\xi}$ with v and v (i.e., v with a line above it).

- (2) ویفقر زیدال بِوَرْخهٔ حتیر ویفننو کس بن کُلّ ریفقر زیدال بِوَرْخهٔ حتیر ویفننو کس بن کُلّ رادهر ریدال برامی میسر تبخیسم کسو بوص کصیهس ویسعلینس بیترس برامی ریدال میترامی برامی این بیت ریس برامی این بیت برامی این بیت برامی برامی
- (3) שלמש שג שנ יעד לאני ליתכם بِوَرْخه كيحك שאהשָׁ עַד מן בַיְת אָלְהָן אָתְרְחַף בַּוַרְחָּה כַיחַף

خرف ثنى وعشرى كتلميث ملكن ورَثَدَ زيدل (sio) تَآدِه تَهِ ثِلاِتِد ثِلاِتِد فِلْمَالِمَ مِإْدِل الدَّلَة بِإِبْلَ لمنس (? جمنس or) ونفقس أثرحف والإلت عمس لمنق (؟ دِهْنِهُ or) يَدْوِيْهُ هِبَرْدِهِ الْهُرُّمُ لِمْهُ

> יאשת האום (] במה במה שום (]

and in English translation:

(i) The sarcophagus (comp. Eth. لِهِهُ: nafk arca, scrinium) for Zaid-il, son of Zaid of Zîrân (or Zairân); the offering (ذُوْبُ وَالْمُعَالَى originally "liquid honey," or perhaps "libation" in general), which he offered (consisting of) myrrhs (مَرُّ , plur. أَمْرَلُ , plur. وَالْمِيْمَةُ) and calmus (مَا يَالِيمَةُ , pl. fr.) for the temples (lit. houses) of the deities of Egypt, in the days of Talmìth, son of Talmìth,

- (2) whilst Zaid-il was poor (i.e., could not make offerings) in the (festival) month of (the goddess) Hat-hor, and so they allotted to him from all the temples of the deities of Egypt their tml, (viz.) garments (عَسْوَةَ , كَسْوَةً , مَا) of byssos (comp. Hebrew مِرْدُ , كَسْوَةً , only in later books of the Old Testament) for his عند (dowry? decoration?), and they did him (or, for him?) elevate
- (3) his אָשֵׁי till (or with) the gift (בֹּרָבֶּים) of the temple of the god Serapis, in the month Khoyak of the year two-and-twenty of (lit. to, for) Talmith the king; and Zaid-il set his כֹלְבִין (or בְּבַּרְבָּים) and his sarcophagus under the protection of Serapis and of the deities of his people (Golenisheff: of the deities with him) in his sanctuary (or, in their sanctuaries?).

Regarding the palæography, the characters have generally the old Minæan forms (comp. my "Südarab. Chrestomathie," § 5), but there are some characteristic deviations, which clearly point to a very late period of time. So we find, it is true, (n) (not (n)), (n) and (n), but beside it (n) (for (n)), (n) (for (n)), Arabic (n)), and only one form for (n) and (n).

^{*} But I think it not impossible that the Babyl. tamâhu, "to hold, seize, to give as an investiture" (Heb. מכף), is to be compared here.

In none of the hitherto known Minæan inscriptions we met with such late vocables, and some grammatical forms too are suspicious of being very late, e.g., עשרי, בشرى, "twenty" (without a following genitive) for בشرنى (see my "Chrestomathie," § 66), and perhaps רישעלינש , ويُسْعَلِينْس (3rd plur. imperf.) for ويُسْعَلِينْس or ويُسْعَلِيوْس ("Chrestomathie," p. 38).

Therefore, on the whole, it appears from these considerations, that we have here to do with a Minæan colony, which from very remote times had kept itself on the Egypto-Arabian frontier till the Ptolemies, perhaps in the same city Ţaru (or better Ṭiru), which is met with in the old Inscription Hal. 535 (comp. my book "Aufsätze und Abhandlungen," p. 8 and p. 124) under the form בר, כשרה, then identical with ישרה, סלירן, לשנים, of our text, line 1. It is to be hoped that Dr. Glaser, who is soon returning from his fourth journey to Arabia, may by new discoveries clear up the difficulties which are occasioned by the above published neo-Minæan inscription.

I understand from Dr. Glaser, at present at Aden, that he has copies of eight hundred new inscriptions (many of them excellent casts). He has found the Eleazos of the Periplus as מאלעז ילט), king of Hadhramaut, dated A.D. 29 (!).

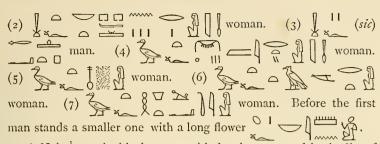


EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS AT DORPAT.

By Dr. A. WIEDEMANN.

By the kindness of a young archæologist of Dorpat, living actually at Bonn, Mr. Hans Dragendorff, I obtained paper-casts of a series of inscriptions preserved in the Museum of Dorpat. The monuments were collected by Otto Friedrich von Richter during his travels in the East, and given after his death by his father to the Museum.*

^{*} Cf. O. Fr. v. Richter, "Wallfahrten im Morgenlande." Berlin, 1822, p. X and 619 sqq_{\bullet}



A Neb-Amenti with the same title has been quoted in the list of Maspero, *Rec. de trav. rel.*, etc., II, p. 180; *cf.* Lieblein, *Dict. des noms*, No 684; he was perhaps the son of the setem Kasa (*l.c.* p. 198, 178), and might be identical with the man named on our stela. An interest is given to the monument on account of the divinities represented at the top, of which two have added to their name that of Hermonthis. Together with the third one they give us a triad of this town, but not the usual one, which consists of Mont, Rāttaui, and Harpocrates. Brugsch (*Rel. der alt. Aeg.*, p. 165) remarks that sometimes Tanen-t or Ani-t appear instead of Rāttaui. Our stela naming Tanen-t side by side with Rāttaui proves that the two divinities were not looked upon by the Egyptians as forms of the same goddess, but as independent personages. The *rôle* of Rāttaui in the pantheon appears to have been a very insignificant one, at least she as well as Tanen-t are but seldom quoted in the inscriptions.

Divinities with the symbol worn on the stela by Tanen-t appear sometimes represented in the Egyptian temples; four in number, they dwelt in the mes_xen-t of the temple, the part which was looked upon as the room where the divine child was born, and had therefore the name Mes χ enut, the inhabitants of the Mes χ en. Here they had to assist as motherly goddesses in different ways to the just born Each of them had a special epithet a, , , , Ac, which correspond with the goddesses Tefnut, Nut, Isis, and Nephthys (Leps., D., IV, 59a, 82a; Mariette, Denderah, IV, 74a; cf. 29 and Brugsch, Rel. der alt. Aeg., p. 371, 737). Tanen-t is missing in the list, but her symbol on our stela shows that in some local cult she occupied a post in the ranks with these divinities, and took, as the epithet nefer-t indicates, the place of Isis. She wears the same head-dress also, Leps., D. III, 34a, 124c, where is quoted also Mentu, or Sebak and Uat'it; as a woman, she appears, Leps., D., III, 37b, 125, with Sebak and Ani-t.

2. Stela, rounded at the top, 41 cm. high, 29 cm. large; limestone. In the middle of the upper part a naos surmounted by uræus-serpents bearing on their heads the ①. The naos contains a sitting female divinity with the head of a hippopotamus, in the right hand , in the left ?, on the head ② between the cow-horns. There is written before her a large between the cow-horns. There is written before her a large cake, above the inscription (sic) . Behind the naos a group of three finely drawn Dum palms without fruit, above them apper part into two branches, and each of these branches into two twigs, is very well rendered.

The lower part of the stela shows a man and his wife kneeling in adoration; the accompanying inscription in vertical lines says:

"Make adoration to Ta-urt of the Dum palms, proscynesis to the lady of the two lands, she may give a good burial after senility, that 'my name may remain in her temple' to the person of the scribe of the ast Maā Rāmes; his beloved sister, the lady of the house, the servant of Ta-urt †Uba." In the list of the functionaries

† Bak-t en Ta-urt will be here only a kind of title, as Maspero, Rec. de trav. rel., etc., II, 185, sq.

^{*} Instead of the original shows here and some lines below a vertical trunk, out of which grow two branches; each of these divides into two twigs, of which the inner ones cross one another. In the first instance each twig ends with a triangle.

of the ast Maa published by Maspero, three bear the name Rames (*Rec. de trav. rel.*, etc., II, p. 185 sq.), but on not one of their monuments appears a wife Uba, so that this Rames will be a fourth man of the same name.

The divinity Ta-urt (Θούηρις)* appears here for the first time with the indication en mama. The tree mama itself is known by other texts to be the Dum palm (Cucifera thebaica, cf. Loret, Rec. de trav. rel., etc., II, 27 sqq.; Moldenke, Ueber die in altaeg. Texten erwaehnten Baeume, p. 66, sqq.; Woenig, Pflanzen im alten Aegypten, p. 315, sqq. Best representation of the tree, Rosellini, Mon. II, pl. 40, No. 2; 69; 88 No. 6).

3. Corner of limestone taken out of a tomb. On one side a vertical line, 13 cm. broad, in large hieroglyphs, which is a constant of the bennu-Phænix, cf. Wiedemann, Aeg. Zeitschr., 1878, p. 95 sqq. On the contiguous side only

^{*} It would be worth while to collect the different indications given by the inscriptions about the hippopotamus-divinities Ta-urt, Apt, Sepu-t, etc., the more so as the picture of their divine figure occurs also in the relics of the art of Mycenæ.

the under part of seven vertical lines is left, each of these lines being 6.2 cm. large:

The 7th has very much suffered by the strokes of the instrument with which the stone was taken out of the tomb-wall, so that it is impossible to make out the signs from the paper-cast.

4. Small votive pyramid with very nicely engraved representations in a good style; sandstone, found at Gurnah. On the first side Ptaḥ seated on the \longrightarrow , holding a sceptre composed of \bigcirc , \bigcirc and \bigcirc . Below the upper part of five vertical lines containing the remains of the adoration-formula to \bigcirc Rā in the horizon in the east:

5. Small statue. On the back in four vertical lines: (1)

6. Stone weight of rectangular form, oblong, with curved top. Serpentine stone, length 6'1 cm., breadth 4'5 cm., height in the centre of the front side 3'5 cm. Above in one vertical column from the time of Usertesen III. The actual weight is 276'58 gramm., but as the stone is a little worn it must have been formerly a little heavier. The weight belongs to the Nub series, of which several samples have been published by F. L. Griffith in his interesting study, *Proceedings*, XIV, p. 442 sqq., XV, p. 308 sqq., where the gold standard is given as about 13 gramm.

* The original shows above the altar instead of the two lines an orbiculated cake.



AN UNKNOWN HEBREW VERSION OF THE HISTORY OF JUDITH.

By M. GASTER.

In the Hebrew literature we find two forms of the Judith legend—one long and elaborate, the other short, concise. The former is almost akin to the Greek version, though not absolutely identical, and has been published hitherto two or three times. The short recension, however, has been known till now only in one single text: in the collection of tales attributed to R. Nissim of Kairuan (N. Africa, eleventh century).

It is not my intention to enter here into a detailed disquisition of this subject. Schürer has summed up the results of modern and ancient investigations, and to his book and bibliography I refer.*

The consensus of opinion is, that the Judith legend originated in the time of the Makkabæans, and that it was originally composed in a Semitic idiom, Hebrew or Aramaic. No one has, however, been able to establish this conclusion with any certainty, or to explain who the mysterious Holophernes was, or to fix the exact place (Bethulia) where the tragedy took place.

Many a minor incident in the Greek text is far from being clear, such as xii, 7: "thus she abode in the camp three days, and went out in the night into the valley of Bethulia, and washed herself in a fountain of water by the camp." There is no reason assigned for this peculiar ablution, nor does it stand in any connection with the other religious ordinances, which we are told that she observed so punctiliously.

These very ordinances, such as her refusal to eat of Holophernes' food, have been used by modern critics for the purpose of determining the date of the composition of this book.

^{*} E. Schiirer, "Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, II (1886), p. 599-603.

However difficult it may be to determine the relation between the two recensions, little doubt, I think, is left as to the true character of the larger recension.

This writing belongs clearly to that class of literary productions which Schürer classifies under the title of *paranetic* tales, *i.e.*, writings composed for the purpose of edifying and encouraging the reader; they were written with a tendency.

It is therefore not very probable that this was the original form of the tale or history of Judith, unless we assume the whole to be a pure fiction, evolved out of the brains of the writer, without any foundation whatsoever on fact.

But whoever is acquainted with the old apocryphal and pseudo-epigraphical literature must reject a purely fictitious origin of "Judith." A Judith must have existed, and must have been—at least in the conscience and memory of the people—the author of some daring act, perpetrated by her in times of dire and cruel persecution.

This figure was then taken up by the writer of the romance, if I may call by this name the longer recension, and the simple ancient tale was carefully worked up; prayers, sermons, addresses were freely added, until the whole assumed the form in which we find it in that recension.

That the original tale must have suffered under this poetical treatment need not be specially pointed out. Hence the difficulty of determining the historical element in that romantic tale.

Those very elements which characterise the longer recension are missing however, in the shorter text. In this we find nothing of a Holofernes, nor is Bethulia mentioned, nor anything about the food; and as to the bathing in the fountain, it is only here we have a perfectly clear explanation, in conformity with the Law.

The only text of this recension which had been known hitherto, was printed for the first time in Constantinople, 1519, then Venice, 1544, and reprinted by Jellinek. It is incomplete. But even in this mutilated text neither Holophernes nor Bethulia are mentioned; not one of the prayers and supplications; also nothing of Achior.

I have now had the rare fortune of discovering another copy of this same recension, which is both much older and much more complete, and as will be seen anon of utmost importance.

Through the kindness of a friend I have come into the possession of a considerable number of very valuable ancient Hebrew manu-

scripts, all hailing from Persia, or rather, from Babylon. Among these MSS., of which I will give a more detailed description on another occasion, there is one of the highest interest (now No. 82 of my collection of Hebrew MSS.). It is a collection of close upon 300 Talmudic tales. A volume of 198 leaves octavo, paper, written in a very ancient character. It is the most complete and probably the oldest collection of this kind, as I consider the MS, to belong to the Xth or commencement of the XIth century. The language, especially of those portions that are written in Aramaic, is much purer, more archaic, and more akin to the Mandaic than that of the corresponding tales to be found in our editions of the Talmud. From this, or a similar collection, R. Nissim has drawn the tales which he incorporated into his book. We find in this MS. also some of those tales which are only alluded to in the Talmud, and which are found in a complete form in the Aruch, or Rashi, or in Nissim's collection, such as the history of the "weasel and the pit." The MS. must have been written somewhere in Babylon. pages are covered with old Persian glosses, which a later possessor of the XIIIth or XIVth century has added in order to explain the text.

In this collection we find then also the tale of Judith's heroic deed. In comparing this text with the one hitherto known, which forms part of the collection of R. Nissim, one can see at a glance that the latter has borrowed it from our MS. collection, omitting exactly those incidents which are of the highest importance for our investigation. He omitted the *heading* and the name of the king slain by Judith. These two, fortunately preserved in my MS., throw an unexpected light upon the history and origin of the Judith legend, and what is more, furnish us with an historical date, which may assist us to fix definitely the period when it happened.

The heading runs so: "The eighteenth day of Adar, the day in which Seleukos came up." This heading is of the utmost importance. It is worded absolutely in the same way as all the dates in the Megillath Taanith. It is an established fact that this Megillah constituted the calendar of the festival days of the Makkabæan period. The days in which a victory was reported, was fixed as a day of rejoicing. The 18th of Adar is missing in the Megillath Taanith, which has come down to us in a fragmentary state. This date is now supplied by our text, which, as that wording unmistakably demonstrates, must have belonged originally to the old

Megillath Taanith. Considering that these festival days were abrogated before the middle of the third century, there is no wonder that portions of it have disappeared. It is a fortunate coincidence that we have recovered at the same time the day on which the Jewish feast was kept and a portion of the Megillath Taanith. This settles the Makkabæan origin of Judith. Instead of the unknown Holofernes we get then a historical name Seleukos, which makes the fact related in the tale at any rate less improbable. Judith is also not a widow, but a maiden; and it is questionable whether Betulah, אולים (virgin), has not suggested to the romancer the otherwise unknown Bethulia, against which the also unknown Holophernes wages an unsuccessful war, which costs him his life.

In our text the town which Seleukos besieges is Jerusalem, and the reason which Judith gives for her coming is much more plausible, than the very curious and unsatisfactory in the long recension.

In our text, which is as simple a narrative as can be conceived, we find also a satisfactory explanation of the bath: it is the ablution of purification prescribed by Leviticus xv, 19-28, and xv, 13.

I may mention further that the Synagogue has always brought the history of Judith in connection with the Makkabæan period. One of the variations of our recensions, published by Jellinek,* is actually embodied in a liturgical piece which was recited on the feast of Dedication, established by Judah Makkabee. Judith is mentioned in connection with this festival also by Abudarham (fourteenth century) in ed. Venice, f. 135 a. The longer recension is also found in connection with the history of the Makkabæans, in Hemdath-hayamin,† reprinted by Jellinek.‡ Of this longer recension there is—as I may mention by the way—another copy in the MS. Chronicle of Jerahmeel, from which I have published the Testament of Naphtali; and to the kindness of Dr. Neubauer I owe the information that Cod. 2240, 5 (Oxford) contains also the long recension.

The profound difference between the short and the long recension, precludes the possibility that the former may be an abbreviation from the latter; the changes are much too radical. In fact, every essential incident is so much altered in the latter that it can by no means be the result of mere abbreviation. If it were an

^{*} Bet-hamidrasch, I, p. 132-136.

⁺ Constantinople, DINN, II, f. 62b-65c.

[‡] Bet-hamidrasch, II, p. 12-22.

abridged text, names and situations would have been retained, and only the rhetorical portions omitted, which however is not the case. Almost everything is different in the two recensions.

We must therefore perforce admit that we have two distinct recensions, of which one may be, and probably is, the unvarnished simple popular tale, the recital of a memorable incident which had happened in the time of the Makkabæan struggles, in which a maiden Judith played an important rôle, and the other a romantical panegyric based upon that fact, and told in the form of a paraenetic tale, intended to convey comfort and edification to the reader.

In questions of this kind one cannot be cautious enough, and I have limited myself to state the facts, and to draw only such conclusions from them as are warranted by the words of the text, which follows here in the original and in translation.

THE HISTORY OF JUDITH.

"A tale. Our teachers taught: on the eighteenth day of Adar [i.e., one is not allowed to fast]; it is the day on which Seleukos went up. As we are told, at the time when he besieged Ierusalem. the Israelites were fasting and had put sacks on. There was a very beautiful woman named Judith, daughter of Ahitob. On every day she used to pray to God in ashes and sackcloth. God inspired her with the thought that a miracle would happen through her. So she went to the porters of the gate and said to them: 'Open the gates for me, may be that a miracle will happen through me.' They said to her, 'Hast thou, perchance, turned to the other side?' She answered, 'God forbid.' So they opened the gates to her, and she went to the camp of Seleukos, she and her handmaid with her. She said to them (i.e., the soldiers of Seleukos), 'I have a secret errand unto the king. They went and told the king, and said to him, 'A beautiful maiden has come from Jerusalem, and she says that she has a secret errand unto the king.' He said, 'Let her come in.' She went before the king, and fell down upon her face before him.' He said to her, 'What is that thou wishest?' She answered and said, 'My lord king, I belong to a great family in Jerusalem, my brothers and my father's house were kings and high priests. I have now heard them speak concerning thee, that the time has arrived when this town is to fall in thine hands, therefore I have come first to find favour in thine eyes.'

"When the king beheld her beautiful countenance and heard her words, she found favour in his eyes; and he rejoiced at the tidings she had told him. Then he commanded his servants to prepare a great feast. Whilst they were preparing it, he ordered all the princes to leave, as he wished to have the company of the damsel. He asked her to sin. She answered and said, 'My lord king, for this very thing I have come hither with all my heart, but now it is impossible, as I am in my impurity; to-night is the time of my purification; I therefore desire the king to herald throughout the camp, that no one should stay the woman and her handmaid, when she goes out in the night to the fountain of water. When I return I will give myself over to the king, that he do what is pleasing in his sight.'

"The wicked man did accordingly. In the night he invited all the princes, his generals and his servants, and they are and rejoiced at that great feast and got drunk. When they saw that the king was nodding his head, they said, 'let us depart, for he wishes to have the company of the Hebrew maiden.' So all went forth and left the king alone with the maiden and with her handmaid. She then took the falchion and cut off his head. She took the head and went out. When they left the soldiers noticed them, and they said to one another, 'no one is to touch them, such is the command of the king.' So they passed (the camp) and reached Jerusalem in the middle of the night. They called upon the porters and said, open the gates for us, for the miracle has already come to pass.' The porters replied, 'is it not sufficient for thee to have defiled thyself, that thou wisheth to deliver the blood of Israel (to their enemies)?' So she did swear to them; but they would not believe her until she showed them the head of that wicked king; only then they believed her and opened the gates unto her. That day they kept as a day of feasting; on the morrow the Israelites went forth against that army and slew them until they had destroyed them completely. The residue left their horses and their money and ran away. And the Israelites came and spoiled everything.

Cod. Heb. Gaster, No. 82 (f. 172a-173a).

מעשה. תנו רבנן: בשמונה עשר באדר יום שעלה סליקוס הוא. דתניא. כשצר על ירושלים היו ישראל בשקים ובתענית. והיתה שם אשה אחת יפה ביותר. ויהודית בת אחיטוב שמה. והיתה מתפללת בכל יום לפני הקבה בשק ואפר. נתן הקבה בלבה לעשות נס על ידה. והלכה אצל שוערי הפתח. ואמרה להן פתחו לי אפשר שיעשה נס על ידי. . אמרו לה שמא פירשת לצד אחר . אמרה להם חוס ושלום פתחו לה . הלכה אצל מחנה סליקוס היא ושפחתה . אמרה להן דבר סתר יש לי למלך. הלכו והגידו למלך. ואמרו נערה יפה באת מירושלם. ואמרה דבר סתר לי למלך. אמר להן תכנס. נכנסה אצל המלך ונשתטחה לפניו . אמר לה המלך מה טיבך . אמרה לו אדוני המלך אני ממשפחה גדולה שבירושלם. ואחי ובית אבי מלכים וכהנים גדולים . ושמעתי עליך שהיו אומרין כבר הגיע עת העיר הזאת ליפול בידיך. ולפיכך קדמתי למצוא חן לפניך. כיון שראה המלך את יפיה ושמע את דבריה נשאה חן בעיניו. ושמח על הבשורה שבישרתו. וצוה לעבדיו לעשות לו סעודה גדולה . כשהן מתעסקין בכך . צוה להוציא כל בני המלכות מעליו. ונתיחד עם אותה הנערה . ותבעה לדבר תקלה . השיבה ואמרה אדוני המלך כל עצמי לא באתי לכאן אלא לדבר זה . אבל בשעה זו אי אפשר. שאני בנדותי. ולילה זו טבילתי. אבל אני רוצה שיצוד המלך על הכרוז . כל מי שיראה

אשה ושפחתה הולכות בלילה למעין המים . אל יגע בהן ולכשתחזור אותה האשה הרי היא ביד המלך. יעשה בה כטוב בעיניו , עשה כן אותו רשע . ולילה זימן כל בני 🗝 המלכות , ושריו ועבדיו . ואכלו אותה סעודה בשמחה גדולה . ונשתכרו ביין . כיון שראו בני המלכות שהרכין המלך בראשו . אמרו נצא מלפניו . שרצונו להתיחד עם העבריה . יצאו מאצלו . נשתייר המלך והנערה ושפחתה . נטלו את החרב והתכו את ראשו. ונטלוהו ויצאו להן. ביציאתן הרגישו בהן הגייסות . אמרו זה לזה . איש אל יגע באלו . שמצות המלך היא . יצאו ובאו לירושלם חצי הלילה . ואמרו להן פתחו לנו שכבר נעשה נס . אמרו לה השוערים לא דייך שקלקלת. אלא תרצי למסור את דמי ישראל . עד שנשבעה להן . ולא האמינו עד שהראת להן ראשו של אותו רשע. והאמינו ופתחו לה. ואותו היום עשאוהו יום מוב . כיון שהיה יום שני יצאו ישראל ופשמו ידיהן על אותן הגייסות . והרגו בהן עד שאיבדו אותן מן העולם. והשאר הגיחו סוסיהן וממונן וברחו. ובאו ישראל יושבו את הכל .



[1894.

THE RHIND MATHEMATICAL PAPYRUS.*

By F. L. GRIFFITH.

Two years and a half have elapsed since my last notes on the Rhind Papyrus were published: on proceeding with it it became evident that the metrology of Ancient Egypt ought to be thoroughly worked over as a preliminary study, in order to give a better mastery of the subjects dealt with in this important document. My notes were soon afterwards ready to be issued, but other matters have interfered with their publication until the present time, and in some ways they have profited by the delay. I do not pretend to have solved all the problems that were outstanding after Professor Eisenlohr's edition, but I have done what I can to supply certain new information about the papyrus itself, and to make such observations as are calculated to render the study of the document easier to those who have not hitherto paid special attention to ancient Egyptian Arithmetic and Metrology. Numberless errors are patent in the original, and one cannot help suspecting that where the difficulties are most baffling, the fault lies as much with the old scribe as with the interpreter.

The free use of the quadruple *heqat* amongst the corn measures, proves that much of the text is later than the reign of Amenemhat III,† and in fact shows contemporary, not ancient, usage. The quadruple *heqat* is never found in the Kahûn collection (XII–XIIIth dynasty), though the double *heqat* is already common in it.

In describing the papyrus I pointed out that the division into two sheets cannot be the result of accident or of ignorant partition between two finders, and that Nos. 61 and 61A on Pl. XIX ought not to be separated from the tables on Pl. I-VIII, with which the

^{*} Continued from *Proceedings*, Vol. XIV, p. 31. P. 31, l. 11 omit, the words "of Lower Egypt;" p. 30 for read twice; and p. 28, l. 6, omit—f after shr.

[†] The statements in Vol. XIV, p. 31, must be modified accordingly.

work commences.* So far well and good, but the arguments that I deduced from these facts cannot be sustained, and the old view as to the continuity of the pieces must be reverted to. The problems and tables Nos. 62-84 do not at all prepare the way for the purely arithmetical Nos. 1-60, and some of the latter are indispensable to the working out of the former. Hence the two sheets, though they must have been separated in ancient times, were not, as I supposed, two rolls written successively. The fact is that the fractional table and rule, Nos. 61 and 61a, do not belong to the original MS., as can be seen from their having been written on a blank space outside the ruling.

It is not necessary to repeat the details given in my former paper, but in as few words as possible I must re-describe the Rhind papyrus from this truer standpoint.

The whole papyrus, which is now in two sheets, Nos. 10,057 and 10,058, appears to have measured 17 feet 8 inches (= 5,40 m.) \times 12\frac{3}{4} inches (31 cm.), and to have consisted of 14 leaves each 15\frac{3}{4} inches in length. It is extremely improbable that a whole leaf, blank or otherwise, was lost between 10,057 and 10,058; I assume that the last leaf (the sixth) of 10,058 is part of the same as the first of 10,057, and that therefore only 7 inches are lost.

Excepting a broad border at the beginning, both *recto* and *verso* of the papyrus have been divided into 6 bands by 7 black lines, drawn horizontally, and starting from a double vertical line at the commencement.

On the unruled portion of the recto (Pl. I) is written the Title (explained in the last paper); on that of the verso a section was added by the scribe, in the same handwriting as the rest, but probably after he had cut the papyrus in two. The rest of the writing (excepting the motto) is roughly fitted into the ruling. The text on the verso begins at the same end as that on the recto.

The sections written on the *recto* of the first 10 leaves follow each other without recognisable interruption, and all deal essentially with pure arithmetic. From the middle of the 10th leaf to the end of the 11th there is no writing, but with the 12th a new series commences, dealing with mensuration. I call these Book I and Book II. The miscellaneous collection which forms the principal text of the *verso* may in like manner be designated Book III. Unfortunately there are no headings to these primary divisions.

^{*} Proceedings, Vol. XIII, p. 332.

The condition of the papyrus can be explained by supposing that the scribe, who wishing to have the fractional table at the beginning of Book I handy for reference, divided the roll in the middle of the 6th leaf where the long table ended. On the back of the fractional table he had Book III with another very useful table (for converting heqat into henu), and to make his collection still more complete, the scribe wrote some notes on the division of fractions (61 and 61A) in the blank portion at the beginning of the verso, to follow the fractional table on the recto in a reasonable sequence. If the sheets are now rejoined, this section on the division of fractions is quite out of place: logically, and according to the purpose of the scribe, it follows after the first section of Book I, and has nothing to do with Book II or Book III. I therefore count it as an inserted second part of Book I.

In this way the somewhat contradictory evidence can be accounted for.

(The so-called "motto" No. 85, being written upside down, is perhaps a casual jotting or trial of the pen, and the import of the calendrical notices No. 87 is uncertain. The two patching strips No. 86 had, certainly, nothing to do with the book itself, for there is no ruling upon them; and No. 79 on Pl. XX is probably a subsequent insertion, very much out of place, that would have been more appropriate in Book I.)

BOOK I.—ARITHMETIC.

No one would expect an Egyptian to build up a complete theory of Arithmetic on a scientific foundation: the scribe of course assumes an elementary knowledge of the subject, and before we proceed to the text, it is necessary to consider what was the groundwork of mathematical ideas that every native of Egypt was born to —4,000 years ago.

NOTATION.

1. Integers.—The Egyptians had no difficulty in reckoning very high numbers; for integers they possessed a convenient decimal system of notation, as good as any amongst the nations of antiquity, though far inferior to that of the Hindus and Arabs, each power of 10 being represented in it by a different figure, while in Arabic it is marked by simply adding or cutting off a cypher.

|
$$u\acute{a}$$
 = I = 10^{0}
| net = 10 = 10^{1}
| $set(?)*= 100$ = 10^{2}
| $seb\acute{a}$ = $1,000$ = 10^{3}
| $seb\acute{a}$ = $10,000$ = 10^{4}
| $seb\acute{a}$ = $100,000$ = 10^{5}

Higher numerals šená and heh existed, but were hardly used in arithmetic: e.g., 10,000,000 is usually written ...

Each multiple of unity from I to 9 had a separate name, and in hieratic each of the corresponding groups was formed into a distinct symbol. The same was the case with the tens from I to 90, but the hundreds, etc., were expressed in Coptic as multiples of 100, etc.—"three hundred," "three thousand," "three ten-thousands," etc. — and the Egyptian nomenclature was probably much the same as the Coptic: for these again the hieratic forms ligatures, but they are less specialised than those for the units and tens. I will not now attempt to explain the forms and names of the Egyptian integral numerals.

No mathematical expression for infinity has been found: for zero auti (?) occurs in Ptolemaic texts. At an early period † nefer seems to stand for o in subtraction, etc., properly meaning "good," "level."

2. Fractions. The only fractions that the Egyptians could express were the divisions of unity $\frac{1}{14}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, etc., but there was no limit to the divisor, e.g., $\frac{1}{5+32}$ occurs in Pl. XIII, No 33. For $\frac{1}{2}$ they possessed a special sign — and a special name ks, in Coptic GOC, XOC. The sign in its early form COC is believed to represent the outline of one side of the human body up to the arm-pit, and thence down the inner side of the arm. COC The literal meaning of ks is "side," thence "one side," "one half."

^{*} Sethe in A.Z., XXXI, p. 112.

[†] See the balance sheet of the Bulak papyrus XVIII, the counting staff in Petrie's *Illahun*, Pl. VIII, fig. 17, both of about the XIIIth dynasty; compare also *Medum*, Pl. VIII, IVth dynasty.

[‡] Piehl, Proceedings, XII, p. 115, where the true reading also was given: as well as by Erman, Sprache des Pap. Westear, p. 77.

The hieroglyph is very rare. The only early instances I can find are in the calendar of Rameses III at Medinet Habu: which text is written from left to right, contrary to the natural direction of Egyptian writing; in such cases one constantly finds that the artist confusedly made some of the signs turn the wrong way. The copies here give frequently, but in two instances ;* which of these is correct I cannot say. In the Ptolemaic texts and are found as well as corrupt forms , . These last two occur as early as the XXIInd dynasty: Marriette, Abydos, II, Pl. 37, but in a badly written inscription.

In hieratic the \longrightarrow was represented by a spot marked above the numeral; thus 8 in hieratic is $\stackrel{\cdot}{\Longrightarrow}$, but $\frac{1}{8}$ is $\stackrel{\cdot}{\Longrightarrow}$. The following forms need a word of explanation.

 $\frac{1}{2}$ is of course the hieroglyphic $\boxed{}$.

 $\frac{1}{3}$ is 2, and 2 at Kahun, corresponding to . The hieratic is probably made up of $\bullet = \bigcirc$, $\longrightarrow = 111$, † and a connecting stroke \checkmark . In the Rhind and the Ebers (XLI, 8) the form is \checkmark , the spot \bullet being absorbed in the connecting stroke, and the lower member reduced.

^{*} Both in Dümichen, Kalena.-insch., XXIV, l. 19. [The parallel calendar of Rameses II, Opferfestlisten, Pl. III, No. 22, gives , but a doubtful instance in Piehl, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques, I Série, Pl. CVII, 33 (XVIIIth dynasty) has , and it is followed by the feminine .

[†] As a numeral the hieratic — represents IIII but as the plural sign III: it appears again for III in some forms of six, corresponding to the lower row III in III. This last case offers a very complete analogy to the — for III in III. The connecting stroke was added to prevent the possibility of confusion with the numeral 40, $\cap\cap\cap\cap\cap$, in hieratic —.

 $\frac{1}{4}$ 1111: the hieratic (Kahun), represents pictorially the division into four parts. IIII is —, so that the direct equivalent of $\frac{1}{1111}$ in hieratic would have coincided with $\frac{1}{1111}$ 40. In the Ramesside writing a meaningless spot was placed over the symbol, \dot{x} , by "false analogy." $\frac{1}{6}$ has the form $\dot{\Xi} \dot{\Xi}$ (ligatured), simplified to $\dot{\Xi}$ (ligatured) in later texts.

$$\frac{\mathbf{I}}{\mathbf{I}\frac{1}{2}}$$
 is \mathbf{I} at Kahun, corresponding to \mathbf{I} or \mathbf{I} .

There is nothing further to note in the hieratic fractions, the remainder being formed by placing the spot over the corresponding numeral: even $\frac{1}{40}$ is $\stackrel{:}{=}$ with a second spot added to that of the integer.

The fractional formative .

In Coptic GOST is 3, pegosst is $\frac{1}{3}$: qtwor is 4 peqtwor is $\frac{1}{4}$, etc. The formative is therefore pe re, probably the *tonlos* form of a word po, which is rarely found in the sense of a constituent part: this may be a derived meaning.

In Egyptian the formative is certainly found as an independent word ra, plural ra, designating the "fraction" par excellence in the measures of capacity, viz., $rac{1}{32}$, uniting the decimal series of divisions with that of the quarter cubed $(rac{1}{10})$ and $rac{1}{64}$, as their greatest common measure.* I do not know what root-meaning to give to this word ra, but I should be inclined to connect it with the preposition $rac{1}{11}$ can hardly be rendered literally "fourth part." As a preposition $rac{1}{11}$ means "to" in the sense of (1) motion to, (2) amounting to, (3) rest at, (4) accordance with, (5) comparison to. The last appears in several curious usages. When the Egyptians wished to express that a book was more pleasant than anything on earth, they said it was "pleasant in comparison to anything $rac{1}{11}$ on earth." on earth." on earth. With us the notion of such expressions as $rac{1}{2}$, $rac{2}{3}$, etc., is a division by

^{*} Proceedings, XIII, p. 535. I have wrongly written pw rô, instead of po ro. In the mathematical Papyrus the word for a numerical fraction is that or that kebt, probably meaning "part."

2, 3, etc., and our popular terms "fractions," "two-thirds," etc., are all founded on this idea; but it is just as easy to conceive of $\frac{1}{2}$ as the ratio or comparison between 1 and 2, $\frac{1}{3}$ between 1 and 3, $\frac{1}{4}$ between 1 and 4, etc.

I am inclined to see in the word rather ra, the meaning "comparison," thence "ratio,"* and in the expressions re-homt, re-aftu, "the ratio of three," "the ratio of four," that is the ratios of (unity to) three and to four. It is very tempting to speak of Egyptian "ratios" instead of "fractions," but I would rather obtain the verdict of my colleagues on this matter before changing the name; it is a great advantage to treat Egyptian matters from an Egyptian point of view, and the point of view expressed by ratio is entirely different from that expressed by fraction; yet, for practical purposes, the latter name even if essentially incorrect will not mislead in questions of simple mathematics.

What other explanation can be suggested? could, for instance, mean "that portion (of one thing) which belongs to (each of) (part-owners)"?

Perhaps parallels from other languages will settle the question.

For f there is no known Coptic equivalent: f suggests f such that f such that equal authority, places the half before the whole: f such that f is hardly possible, for the larger amount always precedes the smaller in enumeration; f such that f is a might be used, "the ratio of (unity to) $\frac{1}{2}$ added to 2"; but this is clumsy: the fraction $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$ is of high importance in Egyptian arithmetic, and probably had a more convenient name. †

Limits of the fractional expressions.

As the \bigcirc system did not express a numerator, it was not adapted for fractions having a numerator greater than unity. $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{2}{5}$, $\frac{3}{5}$,

^{*} From "comparison" we might obtain in reference to numbers either "difference" or "ratio": the latter is the most natural idea; I when compared to 3 appears as $\frac{1}{3}$ of 3, rather than as 3 minus 2.

⁺ cocurs once as a playful monogram for rs () in a very late text; see Brugsch, Wtb. Suppl., p. 736.

etc., do not exist in hieroglyphics.* Upon the analogy of $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$ (= $\frac{2}{3}$) the Egyptians might have built a series $\frac{1}{\frac{1}{2}+2}$ (= $\frac{2}{5}$), $\frac{1}{2+3}$ (= $\frac{2}{7}$, etc.), and thus have obtained a series with 2 as numerator, but a notation to correspond with the expressions was not easy to find: and as to a series $\frac{1}{3+1}$ (= $\frac{3}{4}$), $\frac{1}{\frac{1}{4}+1}$ (= $\frac{4}{5}$), etc., they were further hindered by not having any simple names for fractions excepting $\frac{1}{2}$.

Such was the notation: we shall afterwards see how fractional quantities of any kind could be manipulated so as to be expressed by these imperfect means.

THE ELEMENTARY OPERATIONS OF EGYPTIAN ARITHMETIC.

Counting lies at the root of all arithmetical operations; I mean by "counting," adding I, I, I, I, etc., or subtracting I, I, I, I, etc., until the required amount has been added or subtracted. Sundry means are contrived to save counting, of which the most important is the multiplication table, and it is by tables written down or committed to memory, by rules of thumb, and by learning the results of operations through frequent repetition, that we are enabled to leap over an infinite amount of counting, and arrive directly at conclusions.

The Egyptians, better off than many savage tribes † of our own day, could count up to many millions, and had invented a number of "short cuts" besides. They probably had mechanical means, such as, counters, calculating frames,‡ or rosaries, to assist them; but nothing is known yet in regard to this.

- * There is a kind of exception in the \bigcap_{1}^{1} of the *heqat (Proceedings, XIII,* p. 533), 2, 3 and 4 ra could be spoken of, meaning $\frac{2}{320}$, $\frac{3}{320}$, $\frac{4}{320}$, but here the is an independent and well understood word, not encumbered by an expressed denominator. It is of course a mistake to quote $\frac{2}{3}$ (really $\frac{I}{1\frac{1}{2}}$) as an exception.
- † See Tylor, Primitive Culture, Vol. I, pp. 218 ff., and Anthropology, pp. 309 ff.
- ‡ An abacus-like arrangement of dots for numbers is found on the back of a papyrus in the British Museum (Sallier, IV, 14; Cantor, Vorlesungen, p. 45, explained by Erman, Ægypten, p. 449, and compare Vol. XIV, pp. 425-6), but

Addition, subtraction, balving and doubling could be performed with absolute simplicity (so long as any fractions involved in the problem did not require reduction to a greatest common measure,* and the result did not contain any fraction with numerator above unity; in these cases the fractions had of course to be altered, involving more than one operation). Multiplication and division by numbers other than 2 were complicated operations: excepting with 10 and its half 5, the results of which were obtained by simple inspection and halving, thanks to the decimal system of notation.

Strange to say, the Egyptians could take $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}(=\frac{2}{3})$ of any integer by a single operation, and if $\frac{1}{3}$ of a number was required, they invariably found it by halving its $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}(\frac{2}{3})$. This shows that they had a table of $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$ values; $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$, being the largest of the Egyptian fractions, took the lead, but I cannot see that it offered any advantages over $\frac{1}{3}$ as a starting point.

Addition and subtraction, doubling and halving, multiplication and division by 10—these are the prime weapons with which the Egyptian scribes attacked their mathematical problems. In the second rank came multiplication and division by 5, and finding the $1\frac{1}{2}$ value.

The tables of halves, doubles, and $\frac{1}{\frac{1}{2}}$ values probably were not carried much beyond 10.‡ In the case of higher numbers, the

I.e.,
$$\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$$
 of $5 = 3$ $\frac{\frac{1}{2}}{1\frac{1}{2}} = 3\frac{1}{3}$.

it has no real connection with the calculations of the *abacus*. The game boards, 10×3 commonly found (Petrie, *Nebesheh and Defenneh*, p. 74, *Kahun*, p. 30), 9×3 , very ancient (Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, p. 15), and the "counting stick," Illahun, p. 14, may be mentioned in this connection.

^{*} Compare Proceedings, XIII, p. 535.

 $^{+\}frac{1}{I_2^1}$ values for the table would no doubt be obtained by the Egyptians thus:—Supposing $\frac{1}{I_2^1}$ of 5 were required; make 5 into 10 halves, then I_2^1 (3 halves) must be repeated 3 times to make 10 halves, and 1 half will remain.

[‡] I have not found any certain evidence, 1-9 alone would be necessary; these short tables were perhaps never written down, but carried in the head.

units, tens, hundreds and thousands would each be dealt with separately; this is of course the same as our modern method, excepting that our multiplication table reaches to 12, owing perhaps to the duodecimal basis of our metrology.

Multiplication by other numbers than 2, 5 and 10 was performed simply by repeated doubling and then adding.

For instance—

"Calculate 9 to 6 times" (multiply 9 by 6):

```
I = 9

(double) 2 = 18 /

(double 2) 4 = 36 /

(add 2 and 4) 6 = 54 (answer 54).
```

A dash / marked the numbers to be added together.

Division was accomplished by converting the question into a multiplication sum of the same type as the preceding, the divisor being multiplied until the dividend was reached. The answer of course was the number of times the divisor was so multiplied.

(To be continued.)

There will be no Meeting in April.

...

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 1st May, 1894, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read :-

P. le Page Renouf (President), Greek and other legends of the Deluge.



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VOL. XVI. TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION.

Sixth Meeting, May 1st, 1894.

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,,	XV,	Part 8,	1892-93		5	0	,, ,,		6	0
,,	XVI,		1893-94		2	0	(in progr	ress)	2	6

A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1893-94.

Sixth Meeting, 1st May, 1894.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President, in the chair.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—Friedrich Delitzsch. Beiträge zur entzifferung und erklärung der Kappadokischen Keilschrifttafeln. Leipzig. 8vo. 1893.

From the Author:—Alfred Boissier. Documents Assyriens relatifs aux présages. Tome I. 1° livr. 4to. Paris, 1894.

From the Author:—Edward Sachau. Muhammedanisches Erbrecht nach der Lehre der Ibaditischen Araber von Zanzibar und Ostafrica. 8vo. Berlin, 1894.

From the Compiler, Victor Collins, and the Publisher, Henry Sotheran and Co. Attempt at a Catalogue of the Library of the late Prince Lucien Bonaparte. 4to. London, 1894.

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- From the Author.—Dr. Wiedemann. Aegyptische Totenopfer und ihr Zweck. Die Kriegskunst der Husiten. Statuetten mit inschriften aus meiner Privatsammlung. 8vo. Bonn, 1894.
- From the Author:—Rev. H. D. Rawnsley, and the Publisher, David Nutt. Idylls and Lyrics of the Nile. 8vo. London, 1894.
- From the Author:—Dr. G. Botti. Rapport sur les fouilles pratiquées et à pratiquer à Alexandrie. 8vo. Alexandria, 1894.
- From the Author:—Rev. A. W. Greenup, M.A. A short Commentary on the Book of Revelations. 8vo. Hertford, 1893.
- From the Author:—Rev. John P. Peters. Notes on Eastern Travel.
- From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Degli Hittîm o Hethei e delle loro Migrazioni. Chapter VIII. 8vo. 1894.
- From the Author:—Rev. J. J. Halcombe. The Gospel Problem: Fourfold not synoptic. 8vo. London, 1894.
- From F. D. Mocatta (Vice-Pres.). History of the Jews from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By Professor H. Graetz; edited and in part translated by Bella Löwy. 8vo., 5 vols. 1891–1892.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 6th March, 1894, and elected Members of the Society:—

Ambrose Bury, Rockfells House, Harcourt Street, Dublin. Mortimer Rooke, 5, Eccleston Houses, St. George's Road. Alan Henderson Gardiner, 25, Tavistock Square, W.C. Miss Frances Anna Hughes, Bryn-y-Menai, Bangor. Miss Caroline Churchill, Trenant, Wilbury Road, Hove.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—
The Lyceum Library, Liverpool.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, 5th June, 1894:-

Mrs. E. J. Arnold, 29, Greene Street, Providence, R.I., U.S.A. Percy Caldecott, Grape Lodge, Warley, Essex.

Rev. Prof. W. W. Davies, M.A., Ph.D., B.D., Delaware, Ohio, U.S.A.

The Secretary gave notice that owing to the inconvenience felt by the Proceedings being published for the period of the Sessional Meetings of the Society, the Council had decided that, commencing with the present year, the publications would be issued for the year, as covered by the annual subscription. The Volume now in course of publication (Vol. XVI) would contain the Parts from November, 1893, to December, 1894, inclusive; the title and contents being issued with the last Part, and not in June as formerly. Future Volumes would contain the Parts from January to December of each year.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (President), "Greek and other Legends of the Deluge."

The paper is too long and minute in detail to admit of a short extract. The following points may, however, be mentioned :-

Wherever Flood-legends are found which have been brought into parallelism with the Biblical account, most important differences exist between the earlier and the later forms; (1) in Chaldaea, between the documents in cuneiform and the story told by Berossus, (2) in Greece, where the Deluge is unknown to the earliest literature, and even to Herodotus, where the details about Deucalion are extremely meagre until we approach the Christian aera, and those in Lucian and Plutarch, like the coins of Apamea, imply Semitic origin; (3) in India, between the accounts in the Çatapata Brahmana, belonging to the early Post-Vedic period, and those of the Mahâbhârata, of the Bâghavata-Purâna and of the Matsya-Purâna. In none of these, as in the Bible, is the Flood provoked by the sin of man. In the Chaldaean account it is due to the evil-minded

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caprice of the gods, chiefly of Bel, who was filled with rage on learning that Chasisadra had escaped. It is only by joining the story of Deucalion to the account of the Brazen Age, which in Hesiod perished without a flood, that an ethical motive is thrust into the Greek legend. The Puranic legends connect their deluge with the doctrine of the *manvantaras* or periodical destructions of the world, and the earliest form of the Hindu legend is equally inconsistent with the notion that human sin was the cause of the Flood.

Neither Chasisadra in the Assyrian tale nor Deucalion in the Greek can be called the father of the human race which followed him, but was really a new creation.

In all these accounts the Deluge is represented as universal. It is only by rationalizing authors that local inundations (as of Lake Copais) are supposed to have given rise to the legend.

The old American traditions, as reported even by so trustworthy an authority as Alex. von Humboldt, are so surprisingly like those of the Bible as, if rightly interpreted, to imply an intercourse, before the time of Columbus, between America and men possessed of the knowledge of the Bible.

Remarks were added by Rev. James Marshall, Rev. Dr. Löwy, Alexander Payne, and Joseph Offord, Junior.

Thanks were returned for this communication.



BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of the Bennu bird.

Let me wheel round in whirls, let me turn like the Turning One, let me flourish like a flower and keep myself hidden like the Hider. (1)

I am the Barley corn of every god.

I am the four Yesterdays of those seven Uraeus deities who are born in Amenta; Horus who giveth light by means of his own body; the god who is against Sutu when Thoth is between them, as in that dispute of the Prince of Sechem with the Spirits of Annu where the river is between them. (2)

I come forth by day and disclose myself at the head of the gods. I am the god who chaseth all boastfulness. (3)

Notes.

- I. There is here a play on the words pa, heper, rut and set. The Turning One is the god Chepera. The Tortoise derives its name (the hider), from the habit of drawing its body within its shell. On the flight of the Bennu see the first note of next chapter.
- 2. The Nile lies between the opposite shores of the Nomes of Letopolis (Sechem) and Heliopolis (Annu).
- 3. The later recensions have "I am Chonsu who putteth a stop to all boastfulness." But in the early copies Chonsu is taken in its primitive sense the chaser and does not require the verb to govern 'boastfulness.'

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of the Hernshaw. (1)

Thou who holdest the bound victims; ye knives over their heads and locks and fleeces; (2) ye aged and bright ones who are armed with the fated moment.

I come to heaven but I strike upon the earth; and conversely.

It is my power which produceth victory and raiseth the height of heaven, and I make the lustrations which yield the extent of earth to my feet against the sinful cities as I advance and cut in pieces (3) those who are involved in rebellion. (4)

I leave the gods upon their paths but I strike the Wakers who are in their coffins.

I know not Nu, I know not Tatunen, I know not the Red ones when they bring opposition to me.

I know not a Word of Power to whose utterance I listen.

I am the Red Calf upon the tablets.

This is what the gods say when they raise their voice.

Let your countenances be without restraint towards him who cometh to me.

The morning dawns are independent of you, ye have not the charge of them; but my alternations are in my own hands. I say not the wrong instead of the right.

Day after day unswervingly turneth back upon my eye-brow.

And Evening is the beginning of my voyage to celebrate the solemnity of the Reclining and the Embrace of the Aged one who hath charge of the Earth.

Notes.

- 1. Both the *Bennu* and the *Shenshen* (which I here translate 'Hernshaw') are Herons. They fly to a great height in spiral whirls.
- 2. The true reading here seems to be from from shear.'
- 3. Cut in pieces. The papyrus of Ani gives the valuable reading
- 4. Rebellion. So I understand 👼 🗸 , a wrongful and violent rising, ἐπανάστασις.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of a Soul, (1) that one may not come to the dungeon. Imperishable is he who knoweth it.

I am a Soul. I am Rā who proceedeth from Nu, and my soul is divine. I am he who produceth food, but I execrate what is wrong and look not upon it.

I am possessor of Maāt and subsist by means of it.

I am the Food which perisheth not; in my name of the Selforiginating Force, together with Nu, in the name of Chepera, from whom I am born daily.

I am the Lord of Daylight and I execrate Death, let me not enter into the dungeons of the gods of the Tuat.

It is I who give glory to Osiris and propitiate the hearts of those who are with him, my own friends.

They inspire the fear of me, and put forward my might to those within their domains.

And behold me, how I am raised upon my pedestal and upon my throne.

I am Nu. They shall not overthrow me who do wrong,

I am he whose orbits are of old; my soul is divine, it is the Eternal Force.

It is I who create the Darkness which maketh its seat at the confines of Heaven.

My Soul hath come, far advanced in age, and I create the Darkness at the confines of Heaven at my pleasure.

I reach the limits, and I advance upon my feet.

I take the lead and I traverse the steel firmament which maketh a curtain. (2) I put a stop to the Darkness and the worms; I whose name is hidden.

I drive away aggression from before the Lord of the two hands, who is my own Soul. The Uraeus divinities are my body. My image is Eternal, the Lord of years, the King of Everlasting.

I am exalted as Lord of the land of Rebu: 'the Youth in Town, the Lad in the Country' is my name; and my name is imperishable.

I am the Force which createth Heaven and maketh its abode in the Netherworld.

Not to be seen is my nest; not to be broken is my Egg.

I am the Lord on High. I have made my nest on the confines

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of Heaven, and I descend to the earth of Seb and put a stop to evil. I see my father, the Lord of the Gloaming, and I breathe. (3)

Notes.

- 1. Soul. The Egyptian word which in our modern languages we translate as *Soul* has already been explained as meaning *Force*. It is so translated in this chapter in several passages where this sense is emphatically required.
- 2. A curtain, set, literally a skin. Cf. Ps. civ, 2, "Who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain," where the LXX render 'curtain' by $\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\rho}\hat{\rho}\nu$ and the Vulgate by pellem.
- 3. Here the chapter ends in Pc. The few words which follow in other MSS, were unintelligible to the copyists and are written very variously.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of the Swallow. (1)

I am the Swallow; I am the Swallow.

I am the Scorpion-bird, daughter of Rā.

O ye gods, whose perfume is delicious: Flame which proceedest from the Horizon: O thou who art in the place whence I have brought the keeper of his fold—let me have thine arm that I may make my observation at the Tank of Flame, that I may advance as an envoy and come with the report of it.

Be it opened to me, in order that I may tell what I have seen.

Horus is in command of his bark. There hath been given to him the throne of his father, and Sutu that son of Nut is under the grappling hooks which he made for him.

I have ascertained what is in Sechem. I have touched with my two hands the Heart of Osiris. (2)

And that which I went in order to ascertain I am come to tell. Come let me enter and report my mission.

And I, entering and ascertaining who cometh forth through that gate of the Inviolate one, I purify myself at that great stream where my ills are made to cease, and that which is wrong in me is pardoned and the spots which were on my body upon earth are effaced.

O Keeper of the Portal, let the path be made for me, for I am

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

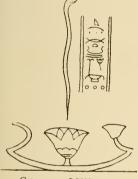




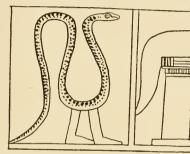
CHAPTER LXXXVIII.
Papyrus, Leyden,
No. II.



I. CHAPTER LXXXVIII.
Papyrus of Nebseni, British
Museum, No. 9900.



CHAPTER LXXXVII.
MARIETTE, "DENDERAH."



CHAPTER LXXXVII. CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

Papyrus of Ani, British Museum.



CHAPTER LXXXIX.
Papyrus of Ani, British Museum.



CHAPTER XC.
Papyrus, Musée Borély, Marseilles.



CHAPTER XC. LEPSIUS, TODTENBUCH.



CHAPTER XCII.

Papyrus du Louvre, III, 89.



as one of you. Let me come forth by day, and walk upon my own legs. Let me have the feet of the Glorified.

I know the mysterious paths and the gates of Aarru from whence I come. Here am I, and I come that I may overthrow mine adversaries upon earth, though my dead body be buried.

If this chapter be known he will re-enter after coming forth by day.

Note.

1. The Swallow The objection to this meaning is that the bird in question was eaten; and that doves or pigeons would be less meagre food than the Swallow, and therefore more probably intended in the Egyptian texts. But Swallows are still eaten at Rome, where like Clive Newcome we may be regaled not only with "wild swans and ducks" but with "robins, owls, and οἰωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι for dinner." And Willughby, the naturalist, found a large quantity of swallows being sold for food at Valencia in Spain.

The flat head, the short legs, and the tail of the bird are characteristic not of the pigeon but of the swallow, and on many pictures (e.g. pl. xxi, vignette from Leyden papyrus) we are reminded of the song—

Ἡλθ' ἦλθε χελιĉων.... ἐπὶ γαστέρα λευκὰ ἐπὶ νωτα μέλαινα.

It is not quite plain why the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the name of Scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the bird, but the scorpion should be given to the scorpion sho

2. Touched with my two hands the Heart of Osiris.

word Heart has dropped out of the later texts (e.g., the Turin copy), but in the older papyri it is found in the form of \int \int \operatorname{\operatorname{O}}{\operatorname{O}} \text{ or } \overline{\operatorname{O}}{\operatorname{O}}.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of Se-ta.

I am Seta-full of years.

I lay myself down [in death], and I am born daily.

I am Seta at the confines of the earth. I lay myself down [in death], I restore myself and I renew myself daily.

NOTE.

Se-ta , literally Filius terrae, is a common noun signifying an earth-worm. It is applied to the Sun as rising out of the earth. There are several pictures at Denderah representing the Sun-god Hor-sam-ta in the form of the worm rising out of the Lotus of Dawn. See pl. xxii., from Mariette I., 47 and 48.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

Chapter whereby one assumeth the form of the Crocodile god [Sebak (1)].

For I am the Crocodile god in all his terrors.

I am the Crocodile god in the form of man. (2) I am he who carrieth off with violence. I am the almighty Fish in Kamurit.

I am the Lord to whom one bendeth down (3) in Sechem.

Notes.

- 1. Sebak is not always named in the papyri. The ideogram of the crocodile was in some copies read emsuli and in others sebak.
- 2. In the form of man . Of the very different readings this is the most intelligible.
 - 3. To whom one bendeth down, literally 'master of bendings.'

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

Chapter whereby the Soul is united to the dead Body.

Oh thou who Bringest; Oh thou Runner, who dwellest in thy Keep, (1) thou great god; grant that my Soul may come to me from whatsoever place wherein it abideth.

But if there be a delay in the bringing of my soul to me, thou shalt find the Eye of Horus standing firm against thee, like those undrowsy Watchers who lie in Annu, the land wherein are thousands of reunions.

Let my Soul be caught, and the Chu which is with it, wheresoever it abideth.

Track out (2) among the things in heaven and upon earth that soul of mine, wherever it abideth.

But if there be a delay in thy causing me to see my Soul and my Shade, thou shalt find the Eye of Horus standing firm against thee.

Oh ye gods who draw along the Bark of the Eternal one: ye who lift up above the Tuat, and who raise up the Sky: ye who enable the Souls to enter into the mummied forms; ye whose hands grasp the cordage, hold firm with your ropes and stop the adversaries that the Bark may rejoice and the god proceed in peace.

And now grant that my Soul may come forth in your train from the Eastern horizon of Heaven for ever and ever.

NOTES.

The oldest papyri present a much shorter form than the later ones. That portion which is here separated by a line from what goes before it first appears on the sarcophagus of Seti I and in the papyrus of Ani. The vignette is a very favourite decoration of mummies.

- Keep of which the regular variant in this chapter is not sah but sehen.
 Track out, σ is investigare, ἐξιχνεὐειν, to follow the
- 2. Track out, σ is investigare, εξιχνεύειν, to follow the traces like a dog. See Denk. II, 3, where the word occurs in the title of "master of the trackers," determined by a man holding a hound in leash. It is from this notion that the sense of sight or looking appears in σ, πετ.

CHAPTER XC.

Chapter whereby Memory is restored (1) to a person.

Oh thou who choppest off heads and cuttest throats, but restorest memory in the mouth of the dead through the Words of Power which they possess: thou seest me not with thine eyes, thou perceivest not with thy feet; (2) thou turnest back thy face, thou seest not the executioners of Shu, who are coming behind thee to chop off thine own head and to cut thy throat. Let not my mouth be closed, through the Words of Power which I possess; even as thou hast done to the dead, through the Words of Power which they possess.

Away with the two sentences uttered by Isis when thou camest to fling remembrance at the mouth of Osiris (3) and the heart of Sutu, his enemy, saying:—

NOTES.

Of this chapter we have unfortunately but one copy in Fa, of the Musée Borély. This is defective both at the beginning and at the end, and the text is inaccurate. The later copies are so inaccurate that it is impossible to reconstitue the text. It is precisely on those points where grammatical accuracy is required for fixing a definite sense that the manuscripts are hopelessly defective. The following translation is *verbally* correct, I trust, but I do not pretend that it is intelligible. It stops where the papyrus Fa stops.

- 1. Restored. The reduplication in here gives the verb this sense.
- 2. It is not only in Egyptian that verbs of sight are applied to other perceptions. Aeschylus says κτύπον δέδορκα in Sept. c. Th. 104, and the Hebrew writers furnish similar examples.
- 3. At the mouth of Osiris and the heart of Sutu. To justify this translation the same preposition ought to govern mouth and heart. But I do not know any copy in which this occurs. The Turin reading is simply absurd.

CHAPTER XCI.

Chapter whereby the Soul is secured from imprisonment in the Netherworld.

Oh thou who art exalted and worshipped, all powerful, almighty one, who grantest thy terrors to the gods, who displayest thyself upon thy throne of grandeur, (1) let the way be made for my Soul, my Chu and my Shade. Let me be thoroughly equipped.

I am a powerful Soul; let the way be made for me to the place where $R\bar{a}$ is and Hathor.

If this Chapter is known, he taketh the form of a fully equipped Chu in the Netherworld, and does not suffer imprisonment at any door in the Amenta, either in coming in or going out.

NOTE.

1. There is no safe text here, 'grandeur' is only meant to indicate the existence of in the original. But there certainly ought to be something different from what any of the MSS. supply.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

In Chapter 86 has unquestionably the sense of ascertaining by inspection. The Abbot Papyrus in its account of the enquiry respecting the spoliation of the royal coffins gives ample evidence of this meaning. And the word there used for reporting the result of the inspection is, as is Ch. 86, where the semandary in Coptic TLLE.

But it is well to remember that \(\bigcap_{\top}\) has another use; which perhaps implies the existence of two homonymous roots. In a passage quoted in Note 21 to Ch. 64, it certainly signifies restore. And this may possibly be its meaning in the rubric of Ch. 64. The journey of Prince Hortâtâf may have had reference to the restoration, not simply inspection, of the temples. In this sense it is often written \(\bigcap_{\top}\) or \(\bigcap_{\top}\) sapu. The Coptic word for \(\bar{a}\pi\oknothenau\epsilon\) or \(\bigcap_{\top}\) sapu. The Coptic word for

ISRAEL AND BABYLON.

By the Rev. Charles James Ball.

Fascinating in itself and for its own sake to all that rapidly increasing class of students which is seeking to dispel the mists of antiquity from the origins of religion, the old Babylonian system of faith and ritual is perhaps mainly interesting to the Englishspeaking world because of its undeniable relation to the beliefs and practices of ancient Israel which we find recorded or glanced at in the venerable pages of the Old Testament. Often indeed where an allusion is only too brief for the enlightened curiosity of the scientific investigator of Hebrew antiquity, a welcome light is thrown upon the matter the moment we refer to the fragmentary documents which enshrine the remains of the far more ancient worships of Babylonia. Nor is this to be wondered at, when we remember that Hebrew tradition itself—even in the imperfect state in which it has descended to our times—has preserved unquestionable reminiscences of the Babylonian origin of the fathers of Israel (Gen. xi, 28; xii, 1 sqq.; Jos. xxiv. 2). The difference of sources—the two former passages belong to the so-called Jahvist, the latter to the Elohist—only emphasizes the general harmony of statement. If the Hebrews were really emigrants from Ur Casdim, they must originally, as a matter of course, have adored the Supreme under the same aspect and with the same rites as their kindred in Ur, the sanctuary of the Moon-god. And we can fortunately point to several instances of what may perhaps be called undesigned coincidence with this direct testimony to the aboriginal heathenism of the Hebrew race. The idea of particular tribal gods, or of tutelar deities of races and families, certainly seems to be present to the mind of the Elohist,* when he makes Laban, in his conference with Jacob, invoke "Abraham's god and Nahor's god," adding significantly, "But Jacob swore by the worship (i.e., the god) of his father Isaac." Arameans and Hebrews naturally confirm their solemn league and covenant by appeal to their several national deities, just

^{*} Cp. Judg. xi, 24; I Sam. xxvi, 19; Deut. xxxii, 8, 9.—Sept.

as the Egyptians and Hetta do in the almost too famous treaty of "The Silver Plate."

It will be remembered that in the same narrative (Gen. xxxi, 30-35) Rachel, Jacob's favourite wife, steals her father Laban's "god" or "teraphim," doubtless because she believed in the efficacy of the image as a present protection, and perhaps as an oracle to be consulted on occasion. The narrator makes no remark on this use of images, so heterodox from the point of view of the later legalists. In fact, he is not more surprised by it than the writer of I Sam. xix, 13 is surprised that David's wife Michal knew where to find "the teraphim" in her husband's household; though in the latter instance the teraphim may possibly denote an image of the God of Israel. (Cp. Hos. iii, 4.)

Another curious instance of the same kind of consistency in the representation may be seen in the fact that at least two of Jacob's sons are named after deities who were quite distinct from the God of Israel, though often associated with him in worship. In a passage assigned to the Jahvist, but which in spite of the term perhaps belongs to the Elohist,* with the change of a single Hebrew letter we may read as follows:—

"When Leah became aware that she had stopped bearing, she took her maid Zilpah and gave her to Jacob to wife; and Leah's maid Zilpah bore Jacob a son. 'With Gad's help!' (pointing 7元) cried Leah, and named him Gad. After that, Leah's maid Zilpah bore Jacob a second son. 'With Asherah's help!' cried Leah; 'for maidens must needs call me happy!' so she named him Asher." (Gen. xxx, 9-13.)

As to Gad, there is no question that the Septuagint is right in understanding thereby a Semitic deity corresponding to the Greek $T\dot{\nu}\chi\eta$ and the Latin Fors Fortuna. In Isa. lxv, 2 the renegade Jews of the Babylonian Exile are expressly reproached with the worship of this god of good luck. Indifferent to the current hopes of a return to Jahvah's "holy mountain," they are accused of "preparing a table (of offerings) for the (image of) Gad, and brimming the mixt wine for the (image of) Meni" or Destiny. The Syriac lexicographers explain the plural gadde (in a equivalent to the Arabic plural), the planets Jupiter and Venus, which in Arabic astrology

^{*} Cp. the different "etymology" of Gad suggested, Gen. xlix, 19.

preside over good fortune. Possibly we have in the designation *Gad* a Semitic adaptation of the Accadian Gud, as a title of Merodach, who assigns and determines the fate of men and nations.

Asherah is known to have represented the female principle of Nature according to the conceptions of Canaanitish religion. She was associated with Baal in the worship of the "high places," and her symbol was even set up in the temple of Jerusalem (2 Kings xxiii, 6). Among the planets she was Venus. As the goddess of reproduction she is naturally mentioned on the auspicious occasion of a birth in our passage of Genesis; and Leah's second exclamation is thus seen to afford an exact parallel to her first. It should be added that the expression in the uncorrected text occurs nowhere else in the Old Testament; a fact which confirms the suspicion of corruption which we have based upon other grounds.

The last instance of this general unity of representation which I will now notice is also contained in the narrative of the Elohist. When Iacob is going to visit the sanctuary at Bethel, he orders his family and all his dependents to put away their foreign gods; and they surrender "all the foreign gods in their possession and the talisman rings they wore in their ears; and Jacob buried them under the terebinth hard by Shechem." (Gen. xxxv, 1-4.) "The foreign gods that are among you!" Rachel and Leah's partiality for the gods of Harran was evidently not an isolated fact in the early history of Jacob-Israel. Such phenomena undoubtedly conflict with the old belief, still so widely prevalent in this country, that Israel enjoyed from the very outset a purely monotheistic faith founded upon special objective revelations of a nature so wonderful, so impressive to sense, and so overwhelming to reason as to leave no room for cavil or suspense of judgment or, in short, any mental attitude save that of unqualified acceptance and unquestioning submission.

Speaking as a sincere Catholic, but also as one whose conviction is that the highest interest of Religion is truth, I do not hesitate to say that the Old Testament itself is in manifold contradiction with that uncritical exegesis which arbitrarily ignores too many of the most original facts and features of its unique records to be worthy even of the serious consideration of earnest seekers after truth.

One can of course respect honest ignorance, even honest prejudice; and it is not impossible to sympathise with religious minds made uneasy by the haunting fear that the final issue of criticism may be to reinforce irreligious tendencies, and to arm with

new and unanswerable arguments the advocates of philosophic materialism and practical atheism. The mere fact, however, that the chief representatives of the so-called "Higher Criticism" in our own country and in America are avowed Christians, might be expected to exercise some degree of reassuring influence upon such natural but really illogical anxieties. This uneasiness is not specially characteristic of our own time. Times of discovery have always been times of mental disquietude. New truths and new aspects of truth are usually disturbing to those who had fondly imagined that they were already in full possession of all truth. Currency however soon wears off the gloss of novelty; and people insensibly come to perceive that the new coinage is of the same sterling metal as the old, though the image and superscription may have been modernized. Believing therefore in truth, and in the God of truth, I am not alarmed by the results of recent inquiry nor by the hypotheses which those results seem to warrant in the field of Old Testament studies. Theology will know what to do with those results, if only the excusable anxieties of believers and the unscientific impatience of outsiders will give theology time. Once again it will be found—and how often has it happened so before!—that the heterodoxy of yesterday is the orthodoxy of to-day; not indeed because essential truth is liable to the shifty changes of error, but because the sum of truth is not given to any particular generation. We all can do something to further or to retard progress; and if we are animated by a worthy desire to advance the most sacred of all causes, the cause of that Truth which is indeed Divine, we shall be content to work our way onward in patience, faith, and humility.

2.—TUBALCAIN AND NAAMAH

Professor Hommel enriched our *Proceedings* last year with a brilliant exposition of the intimate relations between the two lists of the ten antediluvian patriarchs preserved in Genesis, and an essentially identical list of old Babylonian names gathered from Berosus as verified and supplemented by cuneiform documents. A really important point of contact was thus established between "the Bible and the monuments." I would now lay before you a minor comparison of somewhat similar character.

It is impossible to read the brief notices about Lamech and his children (Gen. iv, 19-24) without feeling that we have in this portion

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of the Jahvist's narrative a mere abstract of accounts which were originally much more copious, though it does not follow that they were accessible in their unabridged form to the Hebrew writer; that is a point which we are not in a position to decide. The verse on which I hope to reflect new light from Babylonian sources may be emended and rendered thus: "And Zillah she also bare Tubalcain: he was the father of every forger of copper and iron; and Tubalcain's sister was Naamah."

Little enough is said of Tubalcain, and still less of his sister Naamah. We learn, however, that Tubalcain figured in some old popular story as a culture-hero, as one of the "fathers" or founders of civilisation, whose special contribution to human progress was the discovery of metallurgy; and we may infer that the reason why his sister Naamah is mentioned at all in so meagre a context, is that the original story associated her with her brother as a fellow-worker or inventor.

Now to say the least, it surely is a remarkable coincidence that both in the earliest Babylonian and Chinese mythology the legendary inventor of metallurgy shares the honours of his art with a sister, who appears as a co-equal benefactor of mankind; and when it is added that a surprising similarity of sound is still traceable between their names and those of the brief Biblical notice, I think you may be disposed to agree with me that another point of contact between Hebrew and primitive Babylonian tradition has been established.

The Babylonian hero is Bal-gin or Balgi; a name which by assimilation of vowels became Bilgi, and then in Semitized Sumerian, Gibil. This Balgi(n), who was worshipped as the god of fire, is thus addressed in the old bilingual hymn (4 R. 14 b, 16 sqq.):—

In English:-

[&]quot;Copper lead melt(est) them thou Gold silver refine(st) them thou Nin-gu-si ('s) brother thou."

(Tu)balcain seems to be simply a Semitic metamorphosis of the primitive Balgin, which would be meaningless to a Semitic ear, and was therefore modified in sound so as to suggest "smith's hammering" (עבוד Wetzstein). So also Ningu became significant with the pronunciation עבוד אונים אונים (LXX), "Charming."

As I stated in the *Proceedings* some time ago, the same pair of divine civilisers reappear in Chinese legend under the names of Bak-ki or Fuh-hi, the discoverer of iron, and his sister Nü-kwa, who "melted coloured stones to mend the heavens with." The veu seh shih, "stones of five colours," may signify the veu kin or five metals; as the Chinese call gold the yellow metal, silver the white, copper the red, lead (and tin) the blue, and iron the black metal, these being their "five colours." It should be noted that the priority of the Babylonian myth is corroborated by the fact that it does not mention iron, which occurs in both the other stories, but is of much later use than copper.

FOUNDERS OF METALLURGY.

OLD BABYLONIAN.	CHINESE.	HEBREW.
Bal-gin, Bilgi	Bak-ki, Fuhhi	(Tu)bal-cain
Nin-ka-(si) or	Nü-kwa-(shi) or	Nogma, "Naamah"
Nin-gu-(si)	Nü-hi-(shi)	

The late Prof. Donaldson was doubtless right in suggesting a connexion between Vulcan and Tubalcain. The smith Vulcan is the Fire-god Balgin.

3.—Purification of Date Palms.

Professor E. B. Tylor some four years ago gave the Society an important paper on that peculiar but frequent subject of Assyrian sculpture, the winged Genii fertilizing the palm tree, as Dr. Tylor rightly explained it. I have now to point out that the importance of the subject in the sculptures happens to be reflected in the old written character. The linear form of the ideogram SHANGA, which occurs in the second of the Accadian lines quoted above, in the sense of refining or purifying metals, is a beautiful

illustration of the pictorial form writing. The symbol sculptured representation of like spathe of the palm to the sculptured palms them-



(hieroglyphic) origin of cuneihardly differs more from the the hand applying the conethe head of the tree, than selves conventionally differ from a drawing of the same trees in perspective. It will be noticed that the conical end of the palm spadix is still suggested as in the sculptures. (See Prof. Tylor's paper in the *Proceedings*, June, 1890.)

In the sense of palm tree, this character seems to have been read - I A T - GISHIMMAR; and in perfect harmony with Prof. Tylor's theory, we actually find it with the determinatives of sex in 2 R. 46,29, 30 a:—

that is to say:—

GISHIMMAR NITA GISHIMMAR RAG zikaru (male) zinnishtu (female)

For the notion of impurity in connexion with the produce of trees, we may refer to Lev. xix, 23, where the Israelites are bidden to abstain from eating the fruit of trees for the first three years of bearing "as uncircumcised." As the Torah (Lev. xii, 2 sqq.) rules that a woman after child-birth is "unclean" until she has presented herself to the priest for purification, so it would seem that the female palm was considered by the Babylonians to be impure when it had produced its flowers until the bloom had been ceremonially sprinkled with the male pollen.

The supernatural agents represented in the sculptures as doing what was done in fact by human beings, afford another illustration of the old belief referred to in my former paper, that what is done on earth in the religious sphere is also done in heaven. Earthly rites and ceremonies were, as the Apostolic writer expresses it, "copies of things in the heavens" (Heb. ix, 23). Otherwise, I suppose, they would have had no validity or efficacy in the opinion of those who performed them.

4. TAMMUZ, THE SWINE GOD.

I pass to another topic. In the Fourth of his Hibbert Lectures, which are as rich in varied learning and fruitful suggestion as they are remarkable for numerous and extraordinary inaccuracies of translation, Prof. SAYCE writes of Tammuz: "This is how an old Accadian hymn speaks of him (W.A.I. IV, 27, No. 1):—

'O Tammuz, shepherd and lord, bridegroom of Istar the lady of heaven.

lord of Hades, lord of the shepherd's cot,
the green corn which is in the meadow has not drunk the water,
its progeny in the desert is not green of leaf;
the acacia (?) tree which in the canal is planted not,
the acacia (?) tree whose foundation is taken away;
the grain which in the meadow has not drunk the water.'"

This is not very lucid. How could "green" corn have a "progeny in the desert," or any where else, "green" or not "green of leaf?" An acacia would surely never be planted in a canal. Foundations again suggest buildings rather than trees; and one would expect to find grass rather than grain in meadows. "The poem is written in the artificial dialect which sprung up in the court of Sargon," adds the Oxford Professor of Assyriology. Perhaps this fact, if fact it be, accounts for the peculiarities of the Professor's English Targum. However, let us refer to the original text, as one is morally bound to do in such cases of doubt. It may be transcribed as follows:—

Sibba in Dumuzi | mutanna shin anna Umun Arali | umun Du-sibba Gish shinigga musar | a nu nagá-mu Sugur idinna | pa nu siggá-mu Gish a-am sunna ba | nu suggá-mu Gish a-am urra ba | absirrá-mu Gu musarra | a nu nagá-mu which may be rendered:-

Shepherd, lord Tammuz, spouse of heaven's queen! King of Aralu, king of Du-sibba! Willow that in a garden-bed hath not drunk water; Whose buds have borne no shoot (or, bloom) in a field! Lotus that hath not been planted in its ditch! Lotus whose roots have been torn away! Comfrey that in a garden-bed hath not drunk water!

Compare the interlinear Assyrian version :— Rēum bēlim Du'uzu ḫāwir Ištar

Bīnu ša ina musarē mē la ištū Kimmatsu ina çēri arta la ibnū Ildaqqu ša ina rāṭišu la irišu Ildaqqu ša išdānuš innašhu Qū ša ina musarē mē la ištū

These invocations recall the Jewish women whom the prophet Ezekiel saw sitting by the north gate of the Temple and "weeping for Tammuz," (Ezek. viii, 14); while the unwatered and therefore withering plants with which the god is compared, or rather figuratively identified, remind one of the ' $\lambda \hat{\epsilon} \hat{\omega} \nu \hat{\epsilon} \hat{o} s \hat{\kappa} \hat{\eta} \pi o t$, which "gardens of Adonis" were earthenware pots filled with mould, planted with wheat, barley, lettuce, and fennel, and exposed to the scorching heat of the sun. The rapid withering of the plants was considered to symbolize the untimely death of the god.

The names of plants as usual are more or less obscure. The Assyrian $b\bar{\imath}nu$ is generally identified with the Tamarix Orientalis, on the ground of the Syriac $b\bar{\imath}n\bar{a}$; which Bar Ali and Bar Bahlul say is the j_{ij}^{**} athl in a particular dialect—that of Tirhan, a district of Assyria beyond the Tigris. Freytag, however, defines athl "Salsuginosa myrica;" and the tamarisk thrives in saline deserts and arid soils where little else can flourish. But our context seems to require a plant unable to thrive without a constant supply of water.

Buxtorf explains בינא בינא bīnā by willow, citing Gittin 68. 2. אורבינא ובינא ואסא דרא, Sorbus salix et myrtus virens, and the gloss ערבא arba, willow. The willow was a Babylonian tree, growing "by the watercourses" or canals so numerous in that country. (Isa. xliv, 4; Ps. cxxxvii, 2.)

Possibly Bab. bīnu is the source of the Arab. ... bān, Guilandina Moringa; a plant which resembles the it athl or tamarisk, according to Dioscorides (iv, 157) quoted by Ibn al Baitar. Forskal found this name ban applied to the Egyptian willow (Salix Aegyptiaca). For a description of the shrub, see Leclerc's Ibn al Baitar; Butrus al Bustāni, Encycl. Arabe, Vol. 5; and Muhīt al Muhīt, Vol. 1.

Kimmatu agrees very well with the Arab. skimm, the sheath (lit. cover) of the flowers of the palm; the bud, cup, or calyx of a flower. The verbal forms denote the production of its spathes by the palm. See Freytag. With this agrees the Accadian & su-gur, which probably means covering, as it is also the chief element in & (su-gulla (?), ziquatu, šārtu, beard, har icci, "spathe of the tree," i.e., the palm; or perhaps its head of foliage

As to artu, our context demands something which results from the calyx of a plant: "whose buds (or spathes) have produced no blossom (shoot, or foliage)." We may perhaps compare with arus artu, the term المرا hirā, shoot of a palm, which the Kitāb an-Nahl (B. LAGUMINA) states to be a synonym of كافور kāfūr, the spathe of the palm. As the Accadian #, rod, staff, etc., also denotes to come out, shoot forth (cp. # *), shine (namāru), our interpretation of blossom or shoot would seem to be sufficiently justified.

The character Y Example may probably be analysed into sid (from kid), ši + nag, that is, by vowel-assimilation, šinig; which confirms the value nag for the second element, as inferred from the name of the character.

Ildaqqu = indaqqu = مندقوق hindaqūq, Lotus sativa (Ibn Sina); lotus, melilote, sweet trefoil (LANE).

 $Q\bar{u}$, from the Accadian gu, may be the same as Syriac $\Delta c c$ Symphyton Officinale; a plant called Qoye at Mosul, where they pound it and eat it with salt. See PAYNE SMITH, s.v.; and Löw, Aram. Pflanz., No. 273.

I transcribe - y sun-na; (1) because of the phonetic supplement na, and (2) on the ground of (E) sun, nartabu, a ditch or watercourse $(= r\bar{a}tu)$.

It is hardly necessary to my purpose to recapitulate here the

myth or myths about Tammuz-Adonis. What I wish now to point out is the original identity of the god with the wild boar that slays him in the developed legend as in Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis.

The name of Tammuz, or rather Dumuzi, Dŏmúzi, (--)

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The name of Tammuz, or rather Dumuzi, Dŏmúzi, (--)

The name of Tammuz, or rather Dumuzi, as prosentation of Sayce everywhere assumes; mor "wahres, echtes Kind," as Delitzsch asserts in a note to Lotz's "Tiglathpileser" (p. 173, n. 2), and Zimmern echoes ("Busspsalmen," p. 26). The word survives almost unchanged in the Turkish domuz, domuz, a "hog, a pig." (The variation of sound is exactly parallel to that exemplified by the Accadian dimmer, dingir, god.)

In Accadian Dumuzi is evidently compounded of two elements: (1) důmu, which might also have been pronounced dămu (cp. 2 R. 36, 57 cd.: damu = māru, son = dumu), or rather the two spellings may simply be divergent attempts to suggest a sound which hovered or fluctuated between the two; and (2) zi, zig, or zud. The passage 4 R. 28, 49a cited by Delitzsch is not conclusive for zud, because Y da may there be a particle marking the relation of the genitive (see Trans. IX, Congress Orient. II, p. 726 sq.). But help may be forthcoming from another source.

The Chinese presents us with a series of terms for pig in which both elements of the Accadian Dămu-zi (d, g) are evidently preserved. As regards the second element there is a fluctuation between the final t, k, such as we often observe in both languages.

Thus we have anciently pronounced tot, dot, or tok, dok, now tü, tsu, chu, tsi, chö, in the various dialects (see my friend Dr. Edkins' Introduction to the Study of the Chinese Characters, and Dr. H. A. Giles' new Dictionary, s.v.). This general term for swine answers to dug or du, a sound presupposed by the zi, zu (dd, g), of Domu-zi. But an Accadian initial z implies also a pronunciation ž, š, as in zi, shi, napistu, life. We find this too represented in the case before us; in Accadian by the term sith defined by the Assyrian loanword šahū, "wild swine" (Jensen); in Chinese by

shik, shi, Japanese shi, pig.

The Accadian dam-shab, dim-shab, $dab\bar{u}$ (2 R. 6, 19, 20c), com-198

pared with the expression Fr A DAM irritu ša šaljī, show that dam (= dab; whence the Assyrian $dab\bar{u}$) and dim were other terms for swine (cp. JENSEN, ZA. I, 179. n.2). This dam or dim (thinned from dum?) manifestly agrees with the dumu-damu of Dămū-zi, Domuz, Tammuz; and no less with the Chinese 月天 t'un, dêng, doun, sucking pig, which are dialectical variations of an

older dom; tsung, chung, chong, toung, a yearling pig;

an old word occurring in the Shi King, of which the same may be said, namely, that it springs from dom or dum; and, above all,

with twan, pig, another ancient character frequent in the

Yih King, and used as a phonetic in several words now pronounced ch'wen, ch'wan. Even the Accadian DAB implied in the Assyrian

loanword dabū, has its double in the old Honan Apple dap, tip, now ship, cheh, hog.

Probably no one will think we are spending too much time with our pigs. In reality, we are uncovering the roots of the Tammuz legend, and exposing to the eye the homely materials out of which a beautiful Hellenic myth was at last to spring. Now Dåmúzi was god of vegetation as well as of the realm of the dead. What is the simple basis of this conception? The Chinese again affords us welcome light. Our first character, tü, chu, hog, has also the sense

of digging (Williams, s.v.). In like manner we find 💢 (tw'an),

chwan, chwen, to turn over the soil in ploughing; the elements of the character being earth + pig. Corresponding to this in Accadian we have the ideogram (YEYYYY DUN, meaning to dig up the soil hirū ša irciti); which the linear form shows to be closely related to the symbol - YYYYY SHAG, SHIG, swine, with which it is, in fact, confused in the later writing. The latter appears thus in the

inscr. of Rim-Agū (IR. 3, No. 10, 9): the former is on the monuments of Gudea.

Every one will recognize the essential agreement of the latter ideogram with the Chinese tw'an, pig.

The Accadian dun, to dig, is no doubt related to

dim, dimma, harāšu, to plough; and dim, to plough, presents a striking homophone of dim, pig *

I had got thus far when, to my great satisfaction, I came across the following piece of coincident evidence: "Callistratus (apud Plutarch, Symposion iv, 5) suspected that the Jews did not use swine's flesh for the same reason which he says influenced the Egyptians, viz., that this animal was sacred, inasmuch as by turning up the earth with its snout it first taught men the art of ploughing (see Bochart, Hieroz., i, 806)." Smith's Dict. Bibl. s.v., Swine.

If Tammuz was a god of agriculture because the pig roots up the soil, he was also a Chthonian deity because that characteristic action might be interpreted as an effort of the Theanthropic animal to make his way to the Underworld.

* The Accadian dim-rag, maḥraśu, plough, share or coulter, agrees with old Chinese lag, lik, now lei, li, a plough, to plough.

As to the Acc. gumunsir, which has always been assumed to be an artificial derivative from the Assyrian *lyumṣiru*, instead of its original, it is clear that gumu may be the g-form of dumu, answering to the Chinese gian, kín, kien, boar, a term used in the Shi king; and that nsir is to ṣig as sir, light, is to sig, light, or as sar, to write, is to sag, *id*.



THE RHIND MATHEMATICAL PAPYRUS.

By F. L. GRIFFITH.

Part II.

(Continued from page 173.)

PART I.—TABLES AND RULE TO FACILITATE THE EMPLOYMENT OF FRACTIONS.

Section 1.—Table of expressions in simple fractions (stamm-brüche) for the ratios of 2 to the odd numbers from 3 to 99. (Eisenlohr, Pl. I-VIII; Commentar, pp. 30-48).

Since the Egyptians possessed no expressions for fractions with a numerator above unity, they were compelled to exercise their ingenuity in order to make the root-fractions (stamm-brüche in German) serve the same end. They were not satisfied with such clumsy expressions as $\frac{1}{15} + \frac{1}{15} + \frac{1}{15} + \frac{1}{15} + \frac{1}{15} + \frac{1}{15} + \frac{1}{15}$ for $\frac{7}{15}$: considering the notion of $\frac{7}{15}$ as the division of 7 by 15, they could have reckoned $5 \div 15 = \frac{1}{3}$, 2 remaining to be divided by 15: this latter would then be found to be equivalent to $\frac{1}{10} + \frac{1}{30}$, so that the notion $\frac{7}{15}$ could be expressed as $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{10} + \frac{1}{30}$.

Now it has been pointed out by Professor Cantor that *any* simple fraction can be resolved into *stamm-brüche* by subdivision into *stamm-brüche* (1-fractions) and 2-fractions (given that $\frac{2}{11} = \frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{66}$, $\frac{5}{11} = \frac{1}{11} + \frac{2}{11} + \frac{2}{11} = \frac{1}{11} + \frac{2}{66} = \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{11} + \frac{1}{33}$), and that the Egyptians became aware of this.

It was to supply the want of a 2-series,* and to resolve these 2-fractions into $stamm-br\ddot{u}che$ or 1-fractions, that the Egyptians formed tables of the division of 2, expressing, e.g., the division of 2 by 13 not as $\frac{2}{13}$ but as $\frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{52} + \frac{1}{104}$: divisions by the odd numbers alone were required, for 2 divided by an even number could be reduced at once to the 1-series. From Kahun there is a table of the simplest kind, reaching to $2 \div 21$, but the first table in the Rhind Papyrus is carried as far as $2 \div 99$, and each entry is furnished with its proof for the benefit of those who could appreciate it: these proofs assume a comparatively advanced knowledge of mathematics and of methods that are explained only in the later sections, and are not to be considered as forming an essential part of the table itself. In other respects the two documents agree exactly. The solutions, which were capable of great variation, may therefore be considered as having been fixed by custom.

A good series of solutions for the lower numbers might have been obtained from the formula (put into algebra)—

$$\frac{z}{n} = \frac{1}{\frac{1}{0}a} + \frac{1}{na} \text{ where } a = \frac{n+1}{2}.$$

The series would then have run:— The actual series is:—

An easily-used formula is of great value in calculation, but for this stereotyped table the Egyptians made a wise selection from the possible values without being bound by any formula.

The author of the table undoubtedly chose the values that could be most easily utilised according to his system of dealing with fractions, a system which was founded on the multiplication of

^{*} I have already pointed out (p. 171) a series that might have been formed for the division of 2 without great clumsiness of expression, namely, $1:1\frac{1}{2}=\frac{2}{3}$, $1:2\frac{1}{2}=\frac{2}{5}$, $1:3\frac{1}{2}=\frac{2}{7}$, etc., but the handling of such fractions in addition, subtraction, etc., would have been very complicated, and nothing would have been gained by its adoption.

whole numbers,* and on division by $\frac{1}{2}$ starting from 1 or $\frac{2}{3}$; only in cases of necessity using the cumbrous system of reduction to a greatest common measure.

For $\frac{2}{3}$ it is only natural that \bigcap was preferred in the table, but $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{6}$ was a recognised equivalent of $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$ in the division of fractions by that number (see Pl. XIX, No. 61, a).

Eisenlohr shows that the Egyptian scribe first took those fractions of which the denominators were divisible by 3, and treated them as multiples of $\frac{2}{3} \left(\frac{\mathbf{I}}{\mathbf{I} \frac{1}{2}} \right)$, using the formula $\frac{2}{3} = \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{6}$; then those of which the denominators were divisible by 5 (excluding those already dealt

the denominators were divisible by 5 (excluding those already dealt with on the $\frac{2}{3}$ system, such as $\frac{2}{15}$), and treated them as multiples of $\frac{2}{5}$, using the formula $\frac{2}{5} = \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{15}$.

Then similarly he applied the formulæ $\frac{2}{7} = \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{28}$ $\frac{2}{11} = \frac{1}{6} + \frac{1}{66}$

 $(\frac{2}{55}$ was treated as a multiple of $\frac{2}{11}$, not of $\frac{2}{5}$; $\frac{2}{35}$ which, as a multiple of $\frac{2}{5}$, should have yielded $\frac{1}{21} + \frac{1}{105}$, was more conveniently broken up into $\frac{1}{30} + \frac{1}{42}$; so also $\frac{2}{91}$, a multiple of $\frac{2}{7}$, into $\frac{1}{70} + \frac{1}{130}$, instead of $\frac{1}{52} + \frac{1}{364}$).

The division by the 18 prime numbers after 11 (excepting 23,† for which $\frac{1}{\frac{1}{2}a} + \frac{1}{na}$ offered the best solution) was expressed, not in 2, but in 3 or 4 terms.‡

It is worth noting that however many fractions there may be, the first is always of higher value than $\frac{1}{2}$ of the corresponding division of 2, or, as Eisenlohr expresses it, "the first fraction is always selected so that when multiplied by the divisor of 2 it produces more than 1, generally $1\frac{1}{2}$, or more than that"

To proceed to the text, the first entry is:-

$$380 = 4 \times 95$$

... $\frac{1}{380}$ of $95 = \frac{1}{4}$.

^{*} As when $\frac{1}{380}$ of 95 was required,

[†] With regard to this number, see the correction, Commentar, p. 294, l. 2

[‡] See Commentar, p 33, for the details.

Express (?) 2 from amongst (?) 3 (answer) $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$ (of three) (proof, $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$ of 3 = 2.

Khnt often means "among" in the sense of "from-among" (selective), but I do not know of any instance in which it is distributive "to among," otherwise I should translate it here "divided among."

2 is added at the end to show that the solution is correct.

The division of 2 by 3 was so simple, and $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$ so familiar, that it required no working out; the next problem was less easy.

(Express 2 out of) 5; $(answer) \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{15}$.

$$(Proof)$$
 $(\frac{1}{3} \text{ of 5 is})$ $I\frac{I}{I\frac{1}{2}}, (\frac{1}{15} \text{ of 5 is})$ $\frac{1}{3}$. (Total $I\frac{I}{I\frac{1}{2}} + \frac{1}{3} = 2$.)

Of all this only the figures 5, $\frac{1}{3}$, \dagger $1\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$, $\frac{1}{15}$, $\frac{1}{3}$ are written in the papyrus.

Next comes the "working out," or "method," seshemt, viz.:—

• 5
$$a = 5$$

I $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$ 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ in modern $\frac{2}{3}a = 3\frac{1}{3}$

/ $\frac{1}{3}$ I + $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$ language. / $\frac{a}{3} = 1\frac{2}{3}$

/ $\frac{1}{15}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ / $\frac{a}{15} = \frac{1}{3}$

^{*} The standing figure is better than the seated \mathcal{L}_{n} , as the determinative of n as. In Ramesside hieratic the two signs are very distinct, but they coincide in this early form.

[†] Thick type denotes red ink in the facsimile.

The dash / (in Eisenlohr's transcriptions replaced by an asterisk*) marks the fractions which are to be further utilised: in this case the marked fractions are to appear in the table as being the values required.

The table of which the above are specimens occupies 8 columns: each column is headed with (or alone) II (or alone), and (or alone), but it was not necessary to repeat these words in the individual cases.

The seshmt or "working out."—On glancing through the table (*Commentar*, pp. 36-45), the reader will find that $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$ ($=\frac{2}{3}$) were the regular starting points for the *smt*: even $\frac{1}{4}$ was obtained by halving $\frac{1}{2}$, and $\frac{1}{3}$ by halving $\frac{2}{3}$.

From the starting point of $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{2}{3}$ the Egyptians proceeded by halving only, e.g., in the calculation $2 \div 13$, $\frac{1}{8}$ of 13 is required:—

$$\frac{1}{2}$$
 is $6\frac{1}{2}$
 $\therefore \frac{1}{4}$,, $3\frac{1}{4}$
 $\therefore \frac{1}{8}$,, $1\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$

and in the calculation of $2 \div 19$, $\frac{1}{12}$ of 19 is required:—

Each step is recorded in the papyrus where the problem requires division of fractions, but not elsewhere; for instance, in the calculation of $2 \div 7$, $\frac{1}{2.8}$ of 7 is required:—

$$4 \times 7$$
 is 28.

Thus without further trouble $\frac{1}{4}$ is seen to be the answer.

In such cases, where the denominator of the fraction is a multiple of the original divisor, the division is changed into a multiplication sum. This is the process implied in $\frac{1}{15} = \frac{1}{3}$ (of 5), above, p. 204 in the calculation of $2 \div 5$.

Sometimes the statement was rather inconsequent, e.g., in $2 \div 13$, $\frac{1}{52}$ and $\frac{1}{104}$ of 13 are required.

and sometimes they would confusedly write (in 2 ÷ 31).

Other words in the Table.—1. $\oint_{111} \Box zat$, "remainder," e.g.: in the seshemt of $2 \div 19$ we have the calculation that $\frac{1}{12}$ of $19 = 1 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{12}$. The "remainder," zat, of 2 after subtracting $1 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{12}$ is shown to be $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{6}$.*

2. _______temt, "united," "total"; the sign is the determinative of the word _______temt. In accounts we have entries such as:—

, like the other determinatives, being separated from its word: hence arose this use of $\stackrel{\smile}{}$ alone to represent *temt*. It is found, e.g., in $2 \div 9$.

km, "find" or "found." In some cases where calculation was required it was omitted by the scribe, who gave only the result, adding tersely the word km, probably as a direction to the reader to "find" it himself, or else as an assurance that the result has been "proved" or "found," and is safe to use.

Thus km is placed before $43 \div 42 = 1\frac{1}{42}$, $47 \div 30 = 1\frac{1}{15}$, $49 \div 28 = 1\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$, and so on in most cases. It occurs altogether 21 times, viz.:—

1st column, o times (correct). (omitted before 25 ÷ 15). 2nd ,, (omitted before $29 \div 24$, $31 \div 20$, $35 \div 30$, 3rd $35 \div 42.)$ 3 times (correct). 4th 4 times (correct). 5th 4 times (correct). 6th 4 times (correct). 7th 8th 7 times (twice with the second seshemt, correctly, ,, and twice perhaps incorrectly, viz., 93 ÷ 62

= $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 99 ÷ 66 = $1\frac{1}{2}$, for $1\frac{1}{2}$ is a starting number, and perhaps needed no calculation).

The meaning and purpose of \mathcal{H}_{Σ} is clear, but the scribe seems to have used or omitted it vaguely and carelessly.

^{*} Subtraction of fractions is taught in the sekem calculations, Pl. IX-X.

CORRECTIONS.

Professor Eisenlohr's transcription of this long table can be fully trusted, excepting that in the eighth column there is a notited, viz.:—

In
$$2 \div 91$$
 read $\cancel{\text{M}}^*$ 70 $1\frac{1}{5} \cdot \frac{1}{10}$ (sic) $\cancel{\text{M}}$ 130 $\frac{2}{3} \cdot \frac{1}{30}$

The following are the results of my collation of the original (see plate of corrections).

The stroke before 4 is not very distinct, in black ink; possibly it was erased by the scribe, intending to mark it in red ink.

No. 9. The corrections do not affect Eisenlohr's transcription: the addition of a small fragment in the wrong place had confused the reading on the *facsimile*.

No. 11. I cannot propose any other reading than-

[· 11 This leaves the first fraction $\frac{1}{6}$ $1\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{1}{6}$ · 2]2? stupidly unexplained. It should have been [4 4]4? worked out in the manner of Eisenlohr's [6]6 $\frac{1}{6}$ restoration.

I have also restored the fragment in l. 1 with $\frac{1}{6}$ to its proper place.

Pl. II, No. 17. Eisenlohr notes a discrepancy: in the first line $\frac{1}{12} = 1\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{12}$, while in the *eshemt* the equation is $\frac{1}{12} = 1\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{6}$. In the Kahun Papyrus (where the *eshemt* are not given) the equation is $\frac{1}{12} = 1\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{12}$.

Pl. III, 29, read 174 instead of $\frac{1}{174}$.

35. $\frac{1}{30}$ broken.

39. $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}} \frac{1}{24} \frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$ was first written but afterwards $\frac{1}{24}$ was corrected to 24.

Pl. IV, 43. 5th line, $\frac{1}{7}$ was first written on the right, afterwards corrected to 7.

Pl. V, 59. There is a split along the upper edge, injuring the signs.

Pl. VI, 69, top line. The upper half of the \rightarrow must have been written on a straw accidentally struck to the papyrus, for it has quite disappeared, and there is no appearance of any damage.

71. The spot is incorrectly placed in the facsimile.

Pl. VII, 77. Slightly broken.

Pl. VIII, 97, Two groups are badly copied in the facsimile.

93-99. The fragments at the edge are displaced: when correctly arranged they give some new readings, as follows (cf. Commentar, p. 45):—

- 93. Omit $\frac{1}{5...}$: the fragment shows $\frac{1}{100}$, not $\frac{1}{500}$, and has to be inserted in 99.
- 95. $\frac{[1]}{380}$ is the last to be seen; the fragment with $\frac{1}{670}$ (not 570) goes below.
- 97. $\frac{1}{679}$ is visible.
- 99. $\frac{1}{100}$ is visible as part of $\frac{1}{100}$.

These corrections are very slight, but are useful for close study of the writing. There may be a few other mistakes that I have overlooked. Several of the red dots in the *facsimile* are guides to the scribe in drawing the horizontal division lines.*

The scribe himself often wrongly wrote or omitted the fractional dot, but his rather frequent confusion of 80 with 60 (occurring four times in the divisions by 43 and 93) is less easy to account for.

The foregoing table, giving the values in simple 1-fractions of the ratios between 2 and the odd numbers up to 100, enabled the learner of arithmetic, after a long but very simple reduction, to convert any fractional ratio with denominator up to 100 into a series of 1-fractions. For divisors above 100 he could subdivide the fractions accurately, if the divisor was a multiple of those in the table; if not, an approximate value could be found.

This long table has brought us to the end of the *recto* of 10,058. $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches are lost from the middle of the 6th leaf, between 10,058 and 10,057, but about 3 more inches are required at the end of 10,058 to complete the eighth column (especially $2 \div 97$), and at least 2 inches at the beginning of 10,057 for the commencement of the calculation of "loaves," so that less than 2 inches are unaccounted for—unless indeed a whole leaf, now lost, was left blank after the table.

We must now turn over the end of the papyrus in order to examine the added section on the division of fractions.

(To be continued.)

^{*} Proceedings, XIII, p. 329.

ASSYRIOLOGIGAL NOTES.

By Professor Dr. Fritz Hommel.

§1. The origin of the expression Sumir and Akkad. It is well known that the title of the old kings of Ur, Nisin, Larsa and Babel

连辑 (国 -耳 -川) (国 至平 川)

means the same as "King of Shumir and Akkad" (in the sense of "the whole of Babylonia"). Not only the variant in the Semitic inscriptions of Hammu-rapaltu (Hammu-rabi), shar mat Shu-mi-ri-im u Ak-ka-di-im, but also the often cited text W.A.L, V, 29, 45-47 (Delitzsch, "Lesestücke," 2nd ed., p. 71),

ma-da ma-da Ki-in-gi ma-da Ki-in-gi **È**♥₩ ki and besides it the fragment of the Kuyunjik Collection, published by Pater Strassmaler, "Verzeichniss," p. 602 (No. 4864)

lu-gal Ki-in-gi Ur- □ (□ [] (¬ []) sharru Ki-in-gi □ [] ¬ ki sharru Shu-mi-ri u Ak-ka-di

are definite proofs for it.

On the other hand, it is well known too, that the expression mat (i.e., Imi-ku, "holy tongue," "tongue of incantations"), is a mere synonym of this Ki-in-gi. The interesting text published by BEZOLD, Z.A., IV, p. 434, in which Imi-ku is translated by lishan Shumiri ("tongue of Sumir") is also to be compared.

Now we have to consider that in the old Sumerian texts this title is not written Ki-in-gi Urra-ki, but Ki-in-gi ki-Ur-ra, and that the parallelism requires the separation of Ki-in-gi into Ki+In-gi, so that we should have (as I here for the first time propose) to transcribe

Ki-I'n-gi ki-Ur-ra,

Ingi and Urra being the real original names of the two respective regions.

This new transcription is proved by two other reasons. In the fragment of the list of Babylonian kings, published at first by Mr. George Smith, and afterwards by Winckler, "Untersuchungen," p. 153, we read

I-a-mu-kin-shumi shar Im-gi.

This king is the third of the dynasty of the sea-land, i.e., of the most southern part of Babylonia; WINCKLER gave, p. 50 of his book cited, the right explanation of this Im-gi (otherwise Im-gi-da, which I would read Kalda, Im-gi being here a mere ideograph for Kashda or Kalda). In my opinion, this Im-gi was originally a phonetic variant of Ingi in the expression Ki Ingi.

But I have still another more decisive proof for the transcription $Ki\ Ingi$ (instead of Kingi in one word). If we compare the Babylonian name $E \subseteq Ingi$ (Dur-ku) for the moon-god and its gloss Dumu-gu, W.A.I., II, p. 48, l. 33, there can be no more doubt that also $Ki\ Imi-ku$, "land of the holy tongue" (or tongue of priests), became in a later (but still very early) time $Ki\ Imi-gu$, $Ki\ Imi-gi$ (comp. the Neo-Sumerian i for old Sumerian u), Ki-Im-gi (or Ki-In-gi, in only graphical difference).

The oldest form of this name seems to have been Ki-Im (or In)-gur, because the Hebrews borrowed from it their In (or In)-gur, because the Hebrews borrowed from it their In (originally 'Shinghar), and the Babylonians of the time of Hammurapaltu their Shumir. Indeed, the first value of William was gush, gur, out of which developed ush, ish, on the one side, and dush, dur, on the other; also ku is only a secondary hardening of an older gu(r). Concerning ki to shi, the trilingual vocabulary, line 105, shi-mur=ki-[gar], line 106, shi-bil=[ki-bil], etc., may be compared; comp. ZIMMERN, "Busspsalmen," p. 77. Finally, if we consider the fact that many Sumerian words ending originally in -r became afterwards ending in -d (comp., e.g., Ku-nir-da, (E-da, lig-bar-ra, "jackal," besides lig-bad-da, etc.), I think it not impossible that the abovecited Im-gi-da is to be read Im-gi(d)-da, instead of being an ideograph for the synonym Kashda.

אבין בין By the kindness of the author, Prof. H. ZIMMERN, in Leipzig, I got, even before the publication of the first number of Vol. IX of the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, a copy of his valuable little paper on "Ass. mindêma=Aram. minda'am, meddem" (p. 104–111 of the volume named). The learned Assyriologist shows there that the real significance of mindêma, mindi, is "perhaps," "if perhaps," and that the etymology is a root אביר בין "to know"

(secondarily formed from the well-known אָרָדע, "to know"). Even Jensen ("Kosmologie," p. 403) compared this Babylonian mindi (manda, mindéma) with Hebrew אָרָדע, which later other scholars long ago had identified with Aram. אָרָבע, and Syr. אָרָבע But I am surprised to see that hitherto no one has compared a third Semitic adverb, viz., the Ethiopic אָרָפע: endâ'i, "fortasse," "num forte," "nescio an," which DILLMANN analysed as composed of en, "not," and dâ'i, "my knowledge." If we consider the existence of forms as the Biblical Aramaic, 2nd sing., אַרַבְּרַע וֹן; זגל sing., אַרַבְּרַע וֹן; it seems more probable to see in the first syllable of the Ethiopic particle a similar dissimilation. In every case the Ethiopic endâ'i must not be passed by if the etymology of mindi, אַרָּרָע, is now put without doubt.

§ 3. In the same part of the Zeitschrift für Assyriologie (vol. ix, p. 101-104), Dr. BRUNO MEISSNER, the author of the excellent book, "Beiträge zum Altbabyl. Privatrecht" (Leipzig, 1893), speaks on the Elamitic campaign of Tiglathpileser I, as referred to in the fragment K. 2807 (W.A.I., II, 5, No. 4). He seems quite to have forgotten that I myself, in my "Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens," p. 511 f., p. 522, p. 523, f., and p. 527, note 5, treated at great length on this fragment and the other fragments of similar shape, (W.A.I., III, 5, Nos. 1, 2, and 5). Compare especially p. 512. "die... Namen weisen ganz von selber auf die südöstlichen Bergvölker kassitisch-elamitischer Nationalität." Also Tiele, but in much shorter terms, speaks on these fragments in his "Geschichte," p. 159, and before him Lotz, "Die Inschriften Tiglathpileser's I," p. 193 f. The ☆ >= >= YY == YY == YY is even in my book, p. 523, note 4, corrected into TY SETY (mat A-kash-ka-a-ya), so that we have only to read > If for \ > I maintained there, in accordance with G. SMITH (and against LOTZ), that the fragment 4, which contains the Elamitic campaign, belongs to Assur-ris-isî, but added (p. 511, note 1): "Sollte es dennoch nicht den Annalen Assur-ris-isî's angehören, dann kann allerdings kaum ein anderer als Tiglathpilesar I, noch in Betracht kommen."

 which is translated by Lyon (p. 37), "zur Göttin Sha-ush (nit?)-ka, der Machthaberin Ninive's, erhob ich meine Hände (comp. his transliteration, p. 36)." But this hitherto unknown deity is quite the same as the Mitannian goddess Sha-ush-bi, who is mentioned in the Mitannian Tell Amarna letters (comp. Jensen, Z.A., V, p. 202 and note), and seems to be the consort of the Mitannian weather-god Tishupash. In the inscription of Sargon, Istar of Ninua bears the (foreign) name - Sha-ush-pi, pi here written ideographically with the sign - Sha-ush-pi, pi here written ideographically with

§ 5. In a contract tablet of the time of Apil-Sin, the grand-father of Chammu-rapaltu (Hammu-rapi), V.A., Th. 1473 (Berlin collection), published by Meissner in his "Beiträge," p. 90 f., the name of one of the witnesses is—

Sha >> Martu, mâr A-bi-i-ra-mu.

If we compare names like Sha-Mi-iṣ-ri-im, V.A., Th. 1104 (Meissner, p. 21 and 107), meaning "(man) of Egypt," we should like to translate (notwithstanding the D.P. >>) in the above case "(man) of Martu (or land of the Amorites, Martu being abbreviation of Amartu), son of Abi-ramu." Now this proves that even two generations before Abram, the Hebrew, who is contemporaneous with Chammu-rapaltu (Amraphel, Gen. xiv), such names as Abram, Abi-ram, were common in Babylonia with people of Palestinian origin. This is not surprising, since we know now that the third king following Chammu-rapaltu, the well-known Ammi-satana, was indeed "king of the vast land Martu," PINCHES, "Records of the Past," new series, vol. v, p. 103), and that even Hammu-rabi himself bore this title, besides the title king of Babel (WINCKLER, "Altorientalische Forschungen," p. 145 f.).



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 5th June, 1894, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

Dr. Gaster.—"An Unknown Aramaic Version of Theodosius of Rome, of the Song of the Three Children."

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VOL. XVI. TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION.

Seventh Meeting, June 5th, 1894.

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Seventh Meeting, 5th June, 1894.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., PRESIDENT.

IN THE CHAIR.

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The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

- From the Author:—Dr. Phil. Arthur Alex. Lincke. Bericht über die Fortschritte der Assyriologie in den Jahren 1886–1893. Leipzig, 1894. 8vo.
- From the Author:—Dr. Phil. Arthur Alex. Lincke. Assyrien und Ninive in Geschichte und Sage der Mittelmeervölker (nach 607–606). Berlin, 1894. 8vo.
- From R. S. Hulbert:—Researches in Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæa, forming part of the labours of the Euphrates Expedition. By William Ainsworth, F.G.S., F.R.G.S. London. 8vo. 1838.

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Deli Hittîm o Hethei e delle loro Migrazioni. Chapters IX and X. 8vo. 1894.

From the Author:—W. D. Whitney. 1. On Jacobi and Tilak on the Age of the Veda; 2. On Eggeling's Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa, third volume, with remarks on "Soma = the moon." American Orient. Soc., March. 1894. 8vo.

From Miss Bertin: — The Populations of the Fatherland of Abraham, a short Account of the Populations which came into contact with the Jews, and used the Cuneiform System of writing. By the late George Bertin, M.R.A.S. London. 8vo. 1893.

From the Author:—Prof. Paul Haupt. (1) Transitive and Intransitive Verbs in Semitic. (2) The Origin of the Pentateuch. (3) The Rivers of Paradise. (4) On two passages of the Chaldean Flood-tablet. 8vo. 1894.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 1st May, 1894, and elected Members of the Society:—

Mrs. E. J. Arnold, 29, Greene Street, Providence, R.I., U.S.A. Percy Caldecott, Grape Lodge, Warley, Essex. Rev. Prof. W. W. Davies, M.A., Ph.D., B.D., Delaware, Ohio, U.S.A.

The following Candidates were nominated for election, and by special order of the Council submitted for election, and elected Members of the Society:—

Charles Druitt, 13, Edith Road, West Kensington, W. Edward Wesson, 420, Tenth Street, Oakland, Cal., U.S.A.

To be added to the list of subscribers:—

The Guildhall Library, London, Charles Welch, F.S.A., Librarian. The Library, Brighton.

A Paper was read by Dr. M. Gaster, "On an unknown Aramaic Version of Theodotion of Rome, of the Song of the Three Children."

A Paper was read by Theo. G. Pinches, entitled, "Was Ninip 'The Most High God' of Salem?"

N.B.—Members are reminded that the present volume of *Proceedings* (Vol. XVI) will be completed with the Part for December, when the Title, Table of Contents, etc., will be issued. Future volumes will include the parts (January to December) published during the various years.

ERRATUM:

Page 176 (election of Members) to read: Ambrose U. G. Bury, Rockfeller House, Harcourt Street, Dublin.



BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER XCII.

Chapter whereby the Tomb is opened to the Soul and to the Shade of the person, that he may come forth by day and may have mastery of his feet.

That standeth open which thou openest, and that is closed which thou closest, oh thou who art at rest; (1) thou openest and thou closest to my Soul, at the bidding of the Eye of Horus: who delivereth me, who establisheth the glory upon the brow of Rā: [the god] of stretched out steps and rapid paces, who maketh for me a wide path and vigorous limbs.

I am Horus, the avenger of his father, who lifteth up his father and who lifteth up his mother with his staff.

Let the path be opened to him who hath mastery of his feet, that he may look upon the great god within the Bark of Rā on the day of the Soul's Reckoning; and my Soul is then at the front, during the Reckoning of the Years.

May the Eye of Horus deliver for me my Soul, and establish my splendour upon the brow of Rā, and may my radiance be upon your faces who are attached to the person of Osiris: imprison not my Soul, put not in custody my Shade.

Let the path be open to my Soul and to my Shade that it may see the great god within his sanctuary, on the day of the Soul's Reckoning, and may repeat the words of Osiris whose place is unseen, and of those who are attached to the person of Osiris and have the custody of Souls and Spirits, and who shut up the Shades of the Dead who would do an injury to me. (2)

'Let the path be thrown open (3) to thy Genius* and to thy Soul,

Glorified one, who art provided with those who conduct thee; sit thou at the head of the Great ones in thy place; thou shalt not be imprisoned by those who are attached to the person of Osiris and who have the custody of Souls and Spirits and who shut up the Shades of the Dead. It is Heaven that shall hold thee.

Notes.

- r. I cannot agree with those who have hitherto translated this chapter. The only grammatical interpretation which seems possible for the first sentence depends upon the sense given to the suffix with I take this as representing the second person singular.

 The person at rest (Osiris) is the one invoked, and is here translated by the vocative.
- 2. The words which follow are evidently the words of Osiris and those attached to him, which are addressed to the deceased and are repeated by him. The text here, as indeed everywhere, is very corrupt.
- 3. Thrown open, \bigwedge \bigwedge \bigwedge \bigwedge \bigwedge I have explained the sense of the verb \bigwedge mes (Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., 1882, p. 70) as stretching out, of which notion \bigwedge is the determinative. \bigwedge is = \bigwedge is = \bigwedge \bigwedge is = \bigwedge \bigwedge . Mesi uat is 'pandatur via.'

CHAPTER XCIII.

Chapter whereby one avoideth being conveyed to the East in the Netherworld.

Oh thou Phallus of Rā, who fliest from the storm, disablement ariseth from Baba who useth against me might beyond the mighty and power beyond the powerful.

If I am conveyed away, if I am carried off to the East; if all evil and injurious things of a feast day of fiends are perpetrated upon me through the waving of the Two Horns, then shall be devoured the Phallus of Rā and the Head of Osiris.

And should I be led to the fields wherein the gods destroy him who answereth them, then shall the horns of Chepera be twisted back, then shall blindness (1) arise in the eyes of Tmu and destruc-

tion, (2) through the seizure of me, and through my being carried off to the East, through there being made over me a feast day of the fiends, through all the murderous work perpetrated upon me. (3)

Notes.

This chapter contains one of those threats (of which there are other instances) made to the gods. The speaker is in fact so identified with divinity that any evil which happens to him must be conceived as involving the same calamity to the gods and to the universe.

There is a very considerable difference between the earlier and the later texts. There is very great confusion in the text of the Turin *Todtenbuch* as compared with that of the Cadet papyrus.

- (1) Blindness, or single in the earlier and in the later texts. The latter form, which has for determinative pearls or globules of some kind, reminds one of the disease formerly called gutta serena.
- (2) Destruction, But this word is written in different ways in the papyri. With as a suffix it would mean 'my destroyer.' Ca gives as a determinative, and thus creates a god Hetmu, or at least a name punning upon that of Tmu, to which it is united.
- 3. The more recent texts, like those of the Turin *Todtenbuch*, insert a negative particle before the mention of each disaster. They pray that the Phallus of Rā may *not* be devoured, that the blindness may *not* come upon Tmu, and so on.

CHAPTER XCIV.

Chapter whereby one prayeth for a Palette and an Inkstand.

Oh mighty one, who seest thy father, and who hast charge of the Book of Thoth.

Here am I, I come and am glorified and filled with Soul and Power and provided with the writings of Thoth, which I bring in order to purify the tunnel which is in Sutu. (1) I bring the Palette and I bring the Inkstand as the instruments of Thoth, the secrets of which are divine.

Here am I, as the Scribe; I bring the remains of Osiris; (2) and the writing which I have made upon them is decreed by the great god to be good, daily, among the good. Thou hast decreed, Horus of the Two Horizons, that I shall be the author of Maāt and tend (3) it daily to $R\bar{a}$.

NOTES.

- 1. In Sutu; that is, in Darkness. See chapter 96.
- 2. The *remains*, applied to corruption and impurity of dead matter, is taken in an inoffensive sense when applied to the gods. Compare, *e.g.*, *Pepi I*, line 477 and following.

CHAPTER XCV.

Chapter whereby is opened the place wherein Thoth resteth.

I am the Dread one (1) in Storm, who guard the Great one (2) against assault.

I smite like the Flint-god: I sprinkle like the Sprinkling-god (3). I am the protection (4) of the Great one against assault and I give vigour to the sword which is in the hand of Thoth (5) in the

NOTES.

storm.

The papyrus Ad gives this chapter the title of "assuming the form of the Smen-goose," and Dr. Birch published the text of this papyrus in the Zeitschrift of 1869 (p. 25) as one of those additional chapters which "do not occur in the Ritual of Turin." This is of course an error of oversight. This chapter is in the Turin Todtenbuch, and the papyrus Ad merely gives it under an erroneous title, which was evidently meant for another text.

- 2. Two of the ancient papyri Ca and Ad read Horus, the others have the Great goddess, and so has Ad in the next line. The more recent texts have (not urit, 'the great one,' but) urerit, 'the crown.'
- 3. The Sprinkling god Ashu. This god is mentioned but once in the Book of the Dead, and his name is here interpreted conjecturally in consequence of the function assigned to him and of the not unlike word $\int_{0.00}^{\infty} d\tilde{s}$ 'spit.'
 - 4. Protection. I read \(\frac{1}{2} \) instead of \(\phi_1 \) in the early papyri.
- 5. Thoth. The recent texts have Chepera, an evident error. The allusion is to the storm or distress from which Thoth rescues the Eye of Horus.

CHAPTER XCVI.

Chapter whereby is opened [the place] where Thoth [resteth].

I am he who dwelleth in the middle of his own Eye. I have come that I may deliver Maāt to Rā, and may propitiate Sutu with the libations for Akar and the red victims of the Faithful of Seb.

CHAPTER XCVII.

Said at the Bark: Staff of Anubis, may I propitiate those four Glorified ones who follow after the Master of [all] things.

I am the Master of the champaign at their behest, and I am the Father of the inundation, when he who hath charge of the canals is athirst.

Look therefore upon me, oh ye great and mighty gods, who are foremost among the Spirits of Annu; let me be exalted in your presence. I am a well-doer towards you. Lo I come, that I may purify this Soul of mine in the most high degree; let not that impediment proceeding from your mouth be issued against me which giveth one over to ruin: let me be purified in the lake of propitiation and of equipoise: let me plunge into the divine pool beneath the two divine sycomores of Heaven and Earth.

Now let my Fold be fitted for me as one victorious against all adversaries who would not that right should be done to me.

I am the Only one; just and true upon the Earth. It is I who say it.

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PLATE XXIII.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.



CHAPTER XCII.
Papyrus, British Museum, 9949.



CHAPTER XCII.
Papyrus, Boulaq, 21.



CHAPTER XCII.
Papyrus of Ani, British Museum.



CHAPTER XCIII.
Papyrus, Louvre III, 93.



CHAPTER XCIV.



CHAPTER XCV.
Papyrus, British Museum, 10,009.



Notes.

Chapters 96 and 97 are really but one chapter, which M. Naville has found in only two MSS. of the early period. The end of what Lepsius calls chapter 97 is hopelessly corrupt. On comparing the three copies given by M. Naville (two of them being from the papyrus of Nebseni) it will be seen how impossible it is to restore a grammatical text out of such discordant materials. The difficulty is not removed by having recourse to the papyri of a later period.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

Chapter whereby one saileth a ship in the Netherworld.

Oh thou Leg in the Northern Sky, (1) and in that most conspicuous but inaccessible Stream; I rise up and come to light as a god, I am conspicuous but inaccessible.

I rise up and live, and bring myself to light as a god.

I cackle even as the Smen-goose, but I stoop (2) like the Hawk at the nets of the Great Fowler.

I sail across the Sky, and Shu standeth erect and the Achmiu Stars (3) are instantly active in raising the ladder which lifts the Setting Stars away from destruction. (4)

And I bear that which repelleth mischief as I make my voyage over the Leg of Ptah.

I come from the Lake of Flame, from the Lake of Fire, and from the Field of Flame, and I live

I stand erect in the Bark which the god is piloting at the head of Aarru, (5) and the Achmiu Stars open to me and my fellow citizens (6) present to me the sacred cakes with flesh.

Notes.

There is but one papyrus of the older period which contains any portion of this chapter, and it does so very imperfectly.

On referring to M. Naville's edition it will be seen that not only the title but the greater part of the chapter is destroyed. The later copies have texts so different from the original form, that it is unsafe to attempt a restoration except within very strict limits.

It is absurd to attempt a translation from a mixture of divergent and, at the same time, incorrect texts.

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- 1. See note to chapter 74. The Stream which is so conspicuous but cannot be reached is the Milky Way, and the Leg is the constellation Cassioneia in the Northern Sky.
- Pyramid Texts, and others of the early periods.
- proof that the word is to be taken as a *noun*, and not as a *negative*.
- 4. See chapter 30A, on "The Crocodile of the West who lives on the Setting Stars."
- 5. So Ab, but perhaps wrongly. I dare not fill up the lacunæ of this text.
- 6. Fellow-citizens. The translation here is necessarily conjectural. But I understand by fellow-citizens (συμπολίται) the dwellers of that city of which the deceased says, in chapter 17, "I arrive at my own city, O. "* And this city is explained by the ancient scholion as being "the Horizon" of [or, as Lepsius more accurately translates it, 'der Sonnenberg'] of my father Tmu." It is no earthly city that is thought of, but an eternal one.
- * I take this opportunity of correcting my former translation, where the preposition , which twice occurs in the passage, is both times rendered by the same word, from. But the sense of a preposition really depends upon the verb which it follows. The same English word will not suit the French de in 's'approcher de' and 's'éloigner de.'



WAS → 全国 <u>HI</u> THE MOST HIGH GOD OF SALEM?

By Theo. G. Pinches.

In the work published by Winckler and Abel in the *Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen*, Part III (Berlin, 1890), is a tablet which has been much quoted. This book contains, as is well known, the Berlin portion of the tablets from Tell-el-Amarna, and the text to which I refer is No. 106, one of the three mentioning the city Urusalim or Jerusalem. It is a small tablet of 27 lines, damaged here and there, and it was sent, about 1500 B.C., by Abad-ţâba or Arad-hiba to a king who was probably the then reigning Pharaoh of Egypt.

It is only needful to say that the tablet refers (after the usual greetings) to the presence of Milkilu and Šu'ardatu^m in the territory of the king (*i.e.*, apparently, the territory of the king of Egypt in Palestine). The writer then continues to the effect that the men of Gezer (*Gazri*), Gath (*Gimti*) and Keilah (*Ki'ilti*) had been captured; and the land of the city of Rubute (Rabboth?) had become disaffected—the land of the king had gone over to the league (*habiri*).—The text then has the following words:—

野や貝針手が行魔を四く国客なりを見なない。

û inanna, appunama, âl šadî Urusalim, (D.S.)

âl bêt (D.S.) Ninip - šumu-ša

âl šarri, patarat.

"and now, moreover, the city of the mountain of Jerusalem— the city of the temple of Ninip (is) its name— the city of the king, has become disaffected."

In the first place, does this quotation really refer to Jerusalem, and indicate that Ninip was really identified with the god of the city? Major Conder thinks not, and said that, if I looked at the text again, I would see that it did not. I did look at the text again, but, with the best will in the world to be convinced that I was wrong, I could not admit that I was so, especially as Prof. Sayce seemed to translate in the same way as myself.* In order to make quite certain, it seemed to me that I ought to have something better than even the excellent copy published by Abel and Winckler, and I wrote to Berlin asking either for a cast or a photograph. Dr. Erman, to whom my letter was addressed, was good enough to transfer my letter to Dr. Schäfer, who kindly obtained for me two photographs which, giving fairly clearly the lines in question, show that Winckler and Abel's copy is quite correct. I beg leave here to express to Dr. Schäfer my best thanks for the trouble he has taken on my behalf.

With regard to the text itself, it is true that there are difficulties, for the word paṭarat, which is feminine, seems to refer to âln, "city," which is masculine, but the context seems to me to demand that it should refer to it. Moreover, any translation in which "the city of the mountain of Jerusalem," "the city of the house of Ninip," and "the city of the king" are not in apposition, does not make good sense.

The next question is, who was Ninip?

He is mentioned in numerous inscriptions, and his name is compounded with those of various kings and private people. explanatory lists of gods we learn that as Ninip he was god of the oracle (Ninip ša pirišti), as Uraš, and when bearing the name of Uru, he was god of planting (alli) and fertility, as Šaršarra (-+ & & EII or -+ EI-) he was god of fruitfulness (?) (našpanti), as Nunir or Nunnir he was god of battle (kabli or mehri), as → → → ₩ ₺ Tišhu he was god of libations, and as → → → ₩ (₺) YEME(TY) Tišhu-šeš he was god of speech (or eloquence) (kulti). According to W.A.I., III, 68, 18, he was god of planting, and his consort, daughter, sister, messenger, and servant (sikiltu) seem to be mentioned in lines 19-30 of the same plate. Ninip was also identified with other gods, among them Zagaga, god of war; Anu and Anatum, the male and female personifications of the heaven; Nebo, the god of wisdom; Bêl mâtāti, "lord of the world"—a name that identifies him with Merodach; and Êgirsu, the god of Lagas. He

^{*} So also Prof. Zimmern, Zeitschr. für Assyriologie, Vol. VI., pp. 262-263.

had also many other names, as, for instance, Madanunu, which he bore as "the proclaimed, the renowned, the high"; En-banda, "the receiver of the decision of the gods"; Halhalla, "Ninip, protector of the decision, father of Bel"; Me-maga ("Supreme word"), "Ninip, guardian of the supreme commands"; Gulumma (the date-fruit); Akala-maga ("the supremely wise"), "Ninip, lord of deep wisdom"; as Šn-šanabi ("the forty-handed"?), "Ninip of warriors"; as Lulu ("man"?), he was king of Marad (Lugal-Marad); as Durduru, he was the god Ni-kilite, the patron-deity of the city Ennigi. The list of names and identifications of this god would be wearisome to enumerate, however, for they number more than 30 besides those already cited. It is only worthy of note that in the land of Su he was called Zizanu, and probably also Rabimaguza and Lahurabe; and he was identified with 5 Elamite deities.

Still further information is given in a hymn written in praise of This interesting text, at its commencement, mentions the god, calling him "the king, the son whom Bel himself caused to increase—the warrior, whose net overthroweth the foe" (Ninip, šarru, mâru ša Bêl ramani-šu ušâtiru-šu-karradu, ša šuškalla-šu aabu isahhapu). The writer of the hymn now invokes him: "Ninip, the fear of thy shadow is set over the land" (Ninip, pululti şilli-ka ana mâti tarșat),† and then continues, "In strength he collecteth his army to spoil the land of the enemy" (Izziš ana mât nukurti šalalı umman-šu upahhar), and makes the interesting statement that Ninip is "the king, the son whose father causeth obeisance to be made to him from afar" (Ninip šarru, mâru ša âbu-šu ana rûkētim âppa ušalbinu-šu). "He is to be raised on the throne of an exalted sanctuary on his glorious seat. Upon the festival made for him gladly and widely he is to be set—He is to be made equal with Anu and Bel, with wine he is to be propitiated (Ina kussē paramahi ina âšābi-šu namrirri ina našê-šu, Ina isinni šaknuš, hadîš rapšiš\$ ina

^{*} Haupt, Keilschrifttexte, pp. 79—81. For the history of the text since it was first noticed by George Smith, see Dr. Bezold's catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collection, K. 133.

[†] Another text referring to this god says: "At the raising of thine arm a shadow is set" (ana niš îdi-ka şillu Tariş).

[#] 對 到 4.

ašābi-šu—Itti Anim u Bél ina šitnuni-šu, kurunna ina šutibbi-šu), The goddess Bau with prayer to the king (i.e., Ninip) was to supplicate him-Ninip, the lord, the son of Bel, was to be a decider of fate—when the lord's weapon was in the mountain, his ears were to be broad or open to hear (Bau tešlita ana šarri ina utninni-šu, Ninip, bêlum, mâr Bêl, sîmta ina šâmi-šu, Inušu ša bêli kakka-šu ina šadî ûznā-šu [ina pitê-šu*]). His fortress or dwelling-place was high in all [the world], and his word was unchangeable (Bêlum manzazu šaķû ina nap[har mâtāti], Ninip, kihit-ka ûl uttakkar...). Ninip was strong and high, rejoicing at his form (Ninip, zikaru, mutlillū, ša ana lani-šu hadû), he rode upon the mountain, he made seed to grow (šadá uštarkib, zēra urtappiš); everywhere they had proclaimed his name, a sceptre to their kingdoms—he raised his horns among them like a great bull (mithariš šum-šu imbû, umu ana šarrūti-šunu, ina biri-šunu kima rîme rabê karnā-šu ittanaššî). Five kinds of stone are then for some reason mentioned, and the next line consists of the curious words, "The warrior of white limestone, their warrior, spoils for them the cities" (Karradu samullu, ķarrad-sunu, âlāni išallal-šunuti)—perhaps the image of the god was made of that stone, and he was on account of this circumstance called "the white limestone warrior." The concluding lines speak of a "broad (?) tooth" (šinni kuši) which came forth on the mountain (apparently where the god was worshipped) and the power of the city on high bowed down to him to the earth (Ina šadî šinni kušî âşat-ma itanarrar, [Idi (?) âli šuati (?) šakiš (?)] ašriš iktanšuš).† The text mentioned in the footnotes further speaks of the god Ninip as being met by Nusku, "the supreme messenger of Bel," in the house of the mountain (ê-kura, one of the Akkadian words for temple). Nusku then salutes him thus:-"Lord, thou art warrior, thou art perfect, to thee is thine ear; Ninip, thou art warrior, thou art perfect, to thee is thine ear. . . . At the noise of the thundering of thy chariot, heaven and earth are annihilated. . . Do not enrage thy father in his dwelling, do not enrage Bel in his dwelling. Do not rouse the Anunnaki in the dwelling of ubšu-ukkinaku." (This last word is probably equivalent to tupku êlu ša puhri, "the high place

^{*} The other text gives, twice, the phrase: "Thine ear is to thyself" (ana ramani-ka uzun-ka)—a phrase parallel to the above, or meaning, as Mr. Strong suggests to me, that Ninip had no adviser, and took counsel only with himself.

⁺ The Akkadian version of these lines, which is not damaged, reads: Kurra su uga minine, mininururena, a-bi uru-bi anabēne ki-bi-su bangurrus.

of the assembly," and would then be a parallel to "the mount of the congregation" of Is. xiv, 13.)*

He is "the king," and Abad-ṭâba or Arad-hiba constantly calls his god "the king," or "the mighty king." He is "the warrior," which reminds one that the Lord is called "a man of war." He sits even "on the throne of an exalted sanctuary," he had "a high dwelling-place in the world," and his "city was on high," all of which present a parallel to "the mountain of the Lord's house being exalted above the hills." He was to be "propitiated with wine," which reminds us that Melchizedek, king of Salem or Jerusalem, "brought forth bread and wine."

Is it too much to regard these parallels as more than mere coincidences? I leave my readers to judge for themselves. We shall not know all about the god Ninip until all the texts referring to him have been studied, but the number and nature of those texts show that he was an important deity, and the details they give seem to indicate why he was chosen as the type of the "Most High God" of Salem.



THE RHIND MATHEMATICAL PAPYRUS.

By F. L. GRIFFITH.

(Continued from page 208).

Part I, Section 2.—Fractions of fractions.

(1) Table, Pl. XIX, No. 61; Commentar, p. 149.

This short table, which gives a few useful subdivisions of fractions down to $\frac{1}{12}$, is injured by wear and breakage: it may perhaps be restored:—

I.
$$\frac{2}{3} \quad n \quad \frac{2}{3} \quad m \quad \frac{1}{3} \quad \frac{(1)}{9}$$
2.
$$\frac{1}{3} \quad n \quad \frac{2}{3} \quad m \quad \frac{1}{6} \quad \frac{1}{2 \cdot 8}$$
3.
$$\frac{2}{3} \quad n \quad \frac{1}{3} \quad \frac{(1)}{6} \quad \frac{1}{1 \cdot 8}$$
4.
$$\frac{2}{3} \quad n \quad \frac{(1)}{6} \quad \frac{1}{1 \cdot 2} \quad \frac{1}{3 \cdot 6}$$
5.
$$\frac{2}{3} \quad n \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad f \quad m \quad \frac{1}{3}$$
6.
$$\frac{1}{3} \quad n \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad f \quad m \quad \frac{1}{6}$$
7.
$$\frac{(1)}{6} \quad n \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad f \quad m \quad \frac{1}{12}$$
8.
$$\frac{1}{12} \quad n \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad f \quad m \quad \frac{1}{12}$$
9.
$$\frac{1}{9} \quad n \quad \frac{2}{3} \quad \frac{1}{18} \quad \frac{1}{5 \cdot 4} \mid \frac{1}{9} \quad \frac{2}{3} \quad f \quad m \quad \frac{1}{18} \quad \left[\frac{1}{5 \cdot 4}\right]$$
10.
$$\left[\frac{1}{9} \quad \frac{1}{3} \quad f \quad ?\right]$$
11.
$$\left[\frac{1}{9} \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad f \quad ?\right]$$
12.
$$\left[\frac{1}{3} \quad \frac{2}{3} \quad f \quad ?\right]$$
13.
$$\left[\frac{1}{5} \quad \frac{1}{3} \quad f \quad ?\right]$$
14.
$$\left[\frac{1}{5} \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad f \quad ?\right]$$
15.
$$\left[\frac{1}{5} \quad \frac{1}{4} \quad f \quad m \quad \frac{1}{20} \quad 1 \quad r\right]$$
16.
$$\frac{1}{7} \quad \frac{2}{3} \quad m \quad \frac{1}{14} \quad \frac{1}{4} \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad \left[\frac{1}{3} \quad f \quad \frac{1}{2 \cdot 8}\right]$$
17.
$$\frac{1}{7} \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad f \quad \frac{1}{14} \quad \frac{1}{4} \quad \frac{1}{4} \quad \left[f \quad \frac{1}{2 \cdot 8}\right]$$
18.
$$\frac{1}{11} \quad \frac{2}{3} \quad f \quad \frac{1}{22} \quad \frac{1}{66} \quad \frac{1}{3} \quad f \quad \frac{1}{3 \cdot 3}$$
19.
$$\frac{1}{11} \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad f \quad \frac{1}{12} \quad \frac{1}{2} \quad \frac{1}{4} \quad f \quad m \quad \frac{1}{44}$$

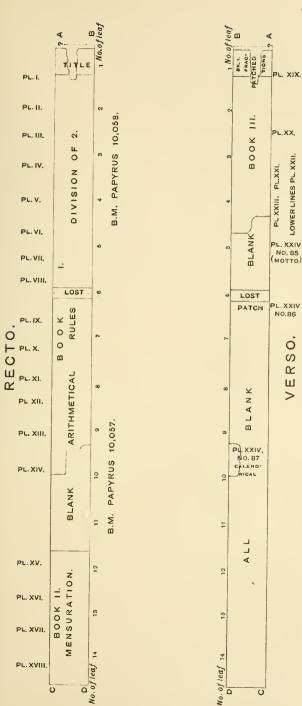
In 5-8 an \approx has been written and then erased. It will be observed that this table can be roughly divided into groups, $\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$ ($\frac{2}{3}$) as the largest fraction taking the lead, thus:—

1-4. $\frac{9}{3}$ of $\frac{9}{3}$ and its halvings.

5-8. $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ and its halvings.

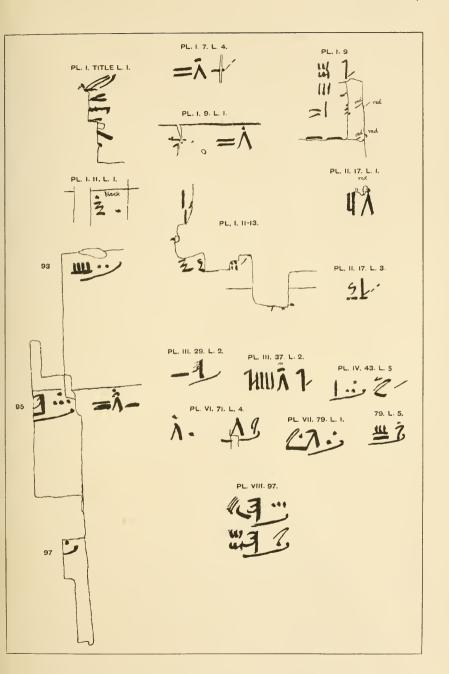
9[-11]? $\frac{1}{9}$ as a sub-division of $\frac{2}{3}$ is treated before $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{7}$ and $\frac{1}{11}$ but after $\frac{1}{12}$ because it cannot be obtained by simple halving.

 $\begin{bmatrix} 12? - \end{bmatrix} 15. \quad \frac{1}{5}.$ $16, 17. \quad \frac{1}{7}.$ $18, 19. \quad \frac{1}{11}.$



SKETCH-PLAN OF THE RHIND MATHEMATICAL PAPYRUS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. DIVIDED ANCIENTLY INTO TWO ROLLS.







There are thus, probably, no separate groups for the subdivisions of $\frac{1}{2}$, and its powers $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$.

(2.) Rule for finding
$$\frac{2}{3} \left(= \frac{1}{I \frac{1}{2}} \right)$$
 of a fraction. (Pl. XIX,

No. 61a; Commentar, p. 150.)

This rule is well enough interpreted by Professor Eisenlohr: only for read and for hepert set read \(\bigcirc \) \(\bigcirc

"The making $\frac{2}{3}$ of a *kbt* fraction. According as is said to thee 'what is $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{5}$?' make thou its double and its six-times; that is its $\frac{2}{3}$. Behold thou, is done likewise in reference to every *kebt* fraction (?) that may occur."

The precise meaning of *tât kbt* is unknown. The scribe has expressed the rule badly: he should have said "take the half and the sixth part."

PART II.—THE Ta (BREAD) CALCULATION, A DIVISION BY 10 OF THE UNITS 1 TO 9.

Pl. IX, Commentar, p. 49 ff.

The beginnings of the lines in the first column are lost; the remains of the first band are without writing, but as it can hardly have been blank, a short title has probably been broken away here.

The complete example No. 6 may be translated, "the making of 9 loaves $\bigcap_{i=1}^{\infty}$ for 10 persons: Do thou count $\frac{\mathbf{I}}{\mathbf{I}\frac{1}{2}}$ $\frac{1}{5}$ $\frac{1}{10}$ ten times," etc.

The words left untranslated are which occur frequently in the subsequent pages of the papyrus. The phrase is found also in the tomb of the accountant Paheri (L.D. II, 4; Tylor and Griffith, Tomb of Paheri, Pl. IX, l. 42), but I cannot catch its technical meaning. Possibly it is, "the thing is done, according as takes place . . . ," i.e., the way to do it is by"

means in some way "to count," especially for multiplication:

"perform the operation of counting on" a number, and coccurs several times as an abbreviation of it. It may refer to some

action of the head, such as nodding at each item, or perhaps it means simply "add a unit."

after summations, probably, as Prof. Eisenlohr notes, mark their agreement with the number stated in the problem, "so it is."

This section gives the value of $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{3}{10}$, $\frac{6}{10}$, $\frac{7}{10}$, $\frac{8}{10}$, $\frac{9}{10}$, omitting, for obvious reasons $\frac{2}{10}$, $(=\frac{1}{5})$, $\frac{4}{10}$ (= $\frac{2}{5}$), the equivalent $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{15}$ being given by the preceding table of the division of 2), and $\frac{5}{10}$ (= $\frac{1}{2}$). Why $\frac{1}{10}$ was included is not clear.

The division by 10 was of course of the highest importance. It is the only number for which the scribe thought a fractional division-table necessary.

PART III.—THE Sekem (COMPLETING) CALCULATION.

Pl. IX, Commentar, p. 53 ff.

a. The first section comprises fourteen examples, headed by "chapter (?) of completion."

The operation is to take a fractional amount, e.g., $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{28}$, and add multiples of it until a more convenient fraction is produced. The following table shows what these are:—

	D			
		Amount.	Multiples to be added.	Result.
No.	7.	$\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{28}$	$\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$
,,	8.	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{3}$	
21	9.	$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{14}$	$\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{4}$	I
,,	7b.	$\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{25}$	$\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
,,	10.	$\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{28}$	$\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
,,	II.	17	$\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$
,,	12.	$\frac{1}{9} + \frac{1}{14}$	102 144 144 144 144 144 144 144 144 144 14	12 12 14 18 18
,,	13.	$\frac{1}{16} + \frac{1}{112}$	$\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$	
,,	14.	$\begin{bmatrix} \frac{1}{2} & \end{bmatrix}$	$\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{16}$
,,	15.	$\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{4}$	`1 €
,,	16.	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{3}$	I
,,	17.	1/3	$\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{3}$.	$\frac{2}{3}$
79	18.	16	$\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{3}$	2 3 1 3 1 6
. ,	19.	$\frac{1}{12}$	$\frac{2}{3}, \frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{6}$
**	20.	1 2 4	$\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{3}$	_1_ 1_2

All of those with two figures in the first column have the second traction based on $\frac{1}{7}$. In Egypt this number is the relation only of

the palm to the cubit, and if the calculations are for any practical purpose, probably they are to be used in connection with the cubit: granting this, we may obtain a hint as to the proportions in decorative art. Suppose that a large quantity of the decorations or plans of builders in Egypt were based on the number 8, we at once obtain a reason for most of this curious table of *sekemt*. $1\frac{1}{7}$ cubit would be 8 palms—imagine then that an artist had a space of $\frac{1}{2}$ cubit to fill with colour in the proportions of $1:\frac{1}{2}:\frac{1}{4}$, he would find from the full table that the respective amounts would be $\frac{1}{4}+\frac{1}{28},\frac{1}{8}+\frac{1}{56},\frac{1}{16}+\frac{1}{16}+\frac{1}{112}$, being $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{16}$ respectively of my supposed 8-palm standard-unit of decoration. The table would thus answer the purpose of a sliding rule.

Following the same line of argument we could draw the conclusion that all the decoration was in the proportion of $1:\frac{1}{2}:\frac{1}{4}$ or $1:\frac{1}{14}:\frac{1}{3}$, and such a principle would be very reasonable.

It must be borne in mind that this is all bare conjecture, and that nothing is hinted of cubits and palms by name: yet I cannot help thinking that the notion is worth following up.

Before No. 15 we have a sign, apparently th, "error," to indicate a mistake.

b. The three numbers on Pl. X (21-23) are exercises in "completion" in which a certain number has to be produced by adding fractions of unity to a fraction already given. The first begins $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2$

No. 22. "What completes $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{30}$ to 1? (that is) 20 (thirtieths and) 1 (thirtieth to thirty thirtieths).

"Total $(\frac{2}{3}, \frac{1}{0})$, the excess (of $\frac{3}{3}, \frac{0}{0}$) is 9.

"Count the number 30 until is found 9 (answer $\frac{1}{5} + \frac{1}{10}$ of 30).

"Now $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{10}$, are added to it.

"Now is complete $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{10}$, $\frac{1}{30}$ to 1."

The scribe has studied brevity before clearness.

aay, "excess" or "difference" is written in a Kahun papyrus (Pap. LV, 4 on Pl. VIII of the forthcoming publication).

The greater part of this page is blank, but it does not coincide with any important division of subjects.

PART IV.—PROBLEMS OF THE FORM
$$x + \frac{x}{n} = a$$
.
Pl. XI, XII, XIII, Commentar, p. 60.

In Nos. 24 to 27 and 31 to 34, the unknown quantity is called which means "heap," "quantity": I do not feel certain whether this áhá has a special signification in mathematics or is merely a term of ordinary life introduced (like "loaves" in Part II), in order to present the problem in a concrete form. There seems to be nothing for me to note here except that 😤 👟 means "added to it." In No. 28 the problem is rather different from the rest in this section, v. Eisenlohr's commentary. No. 29 is evidently written as the working out (after) of 28, but it must really belong to another problem.

No. 30, ar zet nek an (?) 'kheperen ra-met em ra-..ra-met en ma?' setem-ef. "If the scribe says to thee '10 becomes $-\frac{1}{14}$, $\frac{1}{10}$ of what?" let him hear (i.e., answer him) as follows." The problem is thus correctly stated $\frac{2}{3}x + \frac{x}{10} = 10$.

Setem-ef occurs again in No. 37 with the same meaning.

In 35 to 38, the a of the problems is on, a heqat. No. 35 (Commentar, p. 79) begins, "I enter 3 times into a heqat, my third added to me, I return filled, who is it that says this?" It is a quaint form for a mathematical question, but is repeated each time. As the problem is really " $3\frac{1}{3}x = hegat$, what is x?" it is the hegat measure, not the x-measure that is filled, and usually a passive form, is here perhaps active, "I have filled (the hegat)."

occurs in many of the problems with the sense of

No. 38, l. 5, er kemt to aat hert, "to find the above-mentioned portion?"

PART V.—Tunu, "DIFFERENCE OF PROPORTION"(?).

I have nothing to remark on this except that the leading word in the first example must be transcribed 50 7 7 -

BOOK II.—MENSURATION.

Pl. XVI, Commentar, p. 93.

PART I.—MEASUREMENT OF VOLUME, "STEREOMETRY."

In this section the amount of grain is estimated that can be stored in cylindrical and rectangular spaces of given dimensions and vice versâ. The name shaa probably does not mean a building of any kind, but only a space. Three of these shaá in Nos. 41-43 are _____ o teben, "circular," another (No. 44), which is cubic is \ == " square;" the fifth is simply shah, but is afterwards defined as "nes su meḥ er meḥ, "of equal sides;" in No. 46 the shaa without epithet is rectangular, and in No. 47 shaa is opposed to ____ i.e., a rectangular parallelopiped to a cylinder.

It is clear that shad, which occurs only in this papyrus, means ordinarily a rectangular parallelopiped, but can also be applied to cylinders when qualified by the epithet teben.

The dimensions given in cubits are brought to cubic cubits, each of which contains 11 khar, and the amount is finally expressed in hundreds of quadruple hegat at the rate of a hundred quadruple hegat to twenty khar. See Vol. XIV, p. 422.

In No. 45, with the expression $\overset{\circ}{\text{m}} \overset{\circ}{\text{m}} \overset{\circ}{\text{m}} \overset{\circ}{\text{m}}$ "side equal to side(?)," compare $\overset{\circ}{\text{m}} \overset{\circ}{\text{m}} \overset{\circ}{\text{m}$ papyrus. There is a remarkable instance of the absolute pronoun in No. 46, 1. 5.

No. 47. The question is, "If a scribe say to thee 'let me know $\frac{1}{10}$ ' whether it be in a rectangular or a circular space." The last words seem superfluous; the problem is simply to divide decimally the hundred quadruple $heqat: \frac{1}{10}, \frac{1}{20}, \frac{1}{30}, \frac{1}{40}, \frac{1}{50}, \frac{1}{60}, \frac{1}{70}, \frac{1}{80}, \frac{1}{90}, \frac{1}{100}$ are all given. Probably this table of decimal division expressed in the peculiar notation of the heqat was to be learnt by heart.

PART II.—MEASUREMENT OF AREA, GEOMETRY.

Pl. XVI, No. 48, Pl XVII; Commentar, p. 117 and p. 118 ff.

This section shows the Egyptian methods of land measure. The $\frac{1}{2}$, *khet*, a linear measure of 100 cubits, and the $\frac{1}{2}$ set, or square $\frac{1}{2}$, in Greek $\frac{\partial \rho o' \rho a}{\partial t}$, are the principal factors.

No. 48 on Pl. XVI is probably an insertion to illustrate No. 50, Pl. XVI being devoted to stereometry. The figure represents a circle within a square, and it compares the area of a circular field 9 *khet* in diameter with that of a field 9 *khet* square.

The calculations here are full of absurd mistakes, which, if clear evidence were not forthcoming from other texts, would leave the subject of field-measurement full of uncertainties.

In No, 49 we have "Rule(?) of calculating land: as is said to thee a square of land, of 10 khet by 2 khet, what is its land?" The answer should be 2000 "cubits of land," i.e., strips 100 cubits long and one cubit broad; instead of this a sum is gone through which seems to show that the scribe was a dunce who did not understand the system at all. He gets puzzled, takes the trouble to find the number of square cubits, and gives them as 100,000 instead of 200,000; and then dividing by 10 × 10 = 100, obtains 1000 instead of 2000 cubits of land. No one who understood his business would have troubled about the square cubits at all.

No. 50 (a circular field, 9 *khet* in diameter), on the other hand, is quite correctly done excepting that the scribe instead of ins

No. 51. A triangular field \(\bigcap_{\infty} \bigcap_{\infty} \bigcap_{\i

last degree: square cubits, cubits of land, arouras, and "thousands of cubits," are implied by the figures without distinction.

No. 52. A piece of land in the shape of a triangle with truncated apex is called \mathbb{Z} and the truncation, or the truncated apex is called \mathbb{Z} . The sum is correct.

No. 53. This is full of mistakes, and but little of it is intelligible. No. 53¢ is a nearly correct calculation, as Egyptian calculations go, of the triangle of land at the left hand end of the figure. The base of the triangle is $2\frac{1}{4}$ khet, and the height(?) or side (?) is 7 khet. Even here there are small inaccuracies of writing which would never occur in a business-document, such as the omission of \Box denoting the aroura over some of the numerals referring to that measure.

No. 54 repeats this mistake: the problem is to divide 7 arouras into 10 equal fields: each field is $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ aroura + $7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits of land.

No. 55. "Divide 3 arouras of land into 5 fields." In putting the problem, instead of 5 ", the scribe has written $\overline{1}$, *i.e.*, $\overline{1}$ aroura! and afterwards he writes 5 arouras instead of the plain numeral 5! There is only one other section in the papyrus that is so faulty as this Part II, on Geometry.

PART III.—PROPORTIONS OF PYRAMIDS AND OTHER MONUMENTS WITH SLOPING SIDES.

Pl. XVIII, Commentar, p. 134 ff.

Borchardt has recently transcribed and translated all these sections, and shown their true bearing in the Zeitschrift f. aeg. Spr., XXXI, p. 9. The first four examples concern the proportions of pyramids mer. The base is named per-em-us, whence apparently the Greek $\pi \dot{\nu} \rho a \mu u s$, "pyramid": both of these names are

E.g., base of a pyramid is 360, $\frac{1}{2}$ base 180, and height is 250 \therefore proportion fixing the angle is $\frac{180}{250} = \frac{18}{25} = \frac{7 \times 18}{25}$ spans = $5\frac{1}{25}$ spans.

The first example (No. 56) gives precisely the angle of the lower half of the southern stone pyramid at Dahshûr, the remainder (Nos. 57, 58, 59a and b) have that of the second pyramid of Gizeh.

No. 60 is a monument in which the proportion is 1:4, so having the angle of the mastaba-tombs of the Ancient Empire, and of the sides of the Mêdûm pyramid. Here the monument is named in an, "heap, pillar, high monument," the base senti, "foundation," and the height if you were heru, "vertical length": the proportion, as before, is named se-qet.

BOOK III.—MISCELLANEOUS PROBLEMS, &c.

Pl. XIX.

In this place there has been an unlucky piece of patching: the mender filled a large part of the gap at the beginning of the sheet with blank papyrus, and did not scruple to cover up some of the writing on the back; before fastening the patch down he took the precaution to draw the igns upon it, but did this so roughly and carelessly that they are not easy to read, and do not agree in position with the scraps of the original that were left uncovered. This is especially noticeable in the 11th line, zeliti, where is seen repeated beyond the edge of the patch.

For No. 61 see above, p. 230.

No. 62. Exchange values of metals. See vol. xiv, p. 437, xv, 307. No. 63. Distribution of loaves in certain proportions. See Eisenlohr, p. 158.

No. 65. "Instance (?) of making bread [] for 10 persons, including a chnemu (?) a thesu and a door-keeper with double (allowances)." [] is the plain transcription of the first title, but it may be doubted whether [] or [] is not intended.

The thesu is a "ganger."

It goes on: "Add thou all the men together evenly"

"The 10 persons, three of them having double portions, count as 13 with equal shares.

No. 66. 10 heaat of fat in a year make how much per diem?

No. 67. In l. 2 a patch of papyrus has been gummed over a crack, and the writing has been clumsily copied on to the patch.

"Example of reckoning the produce of a herdsman. Behold this herdsman has come to the stocktaking with 70 oxen. This reckoner of the oxen says to this herdsman very few? (or very fine "(?)) are the heads of of oxen you are contributing: what is the whole number of (your heads of oxen of various kinds (asha). This oxherd says to him, 'I am contributing to you $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the oxen that you have committed (?) to me: I have reckoned and I found that I had completed (my contribution)." A calculation is then made, resulting in 315 "as the number that had been committed (?) to him," s-āpi-nf, $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{3}$ of it being 70, "those that he contributed."

"bring" is the technical word for "contribute," "pay taxes," &c., and is equally technical for full discharge of a contribution in the Bulak Papyrus, No. 18. The herdsmen probably farmed the stock of great owners, and were accustomed to repay yearly a certain proportionate number of animals with their calves.

heing 12 men, of the second 8, of the third 6, of the fourth 4," &c. In e for read for the second 8, of the third 6, of the fourth 4," &c. In e for for form which the scribe made this copy the words thesu and it hegat ia iff would be headings of columns, and the particulars would be grouped under the appropriate headings: here as elsewhere the scribe, writing in narrow horizontal bands, has muddled the table, separating the headings e from the entries f.

Nos. 69, 70. See Eisenlohr, p. 174, ff. Aha, "straight up (?)" or "stop!" at the beginning of No. 70 seems to refer to the irregularity of the page at that point.

No. 71. Beer 1 tes-jar, one quarter of it is poured out, and then it is filled up (and then it is fi

It is this passage that led Eisenlohr to read the measure !! heqat as besha, but the mistake was due to the scribe omitting to repeat the sign !!!.

Nos. 72 to 78. These are very interesting, as showing the method of valuing and exchanging bread and beer. The sole basis of value was the *pefsu*, the number of loaves or of jars of beer which could be made out of one *heqat* of corn; loaves of different sizes and beers of different strengths, when the amounts were adjusted so as to represent equal quantities of corn, were exchanged at *par*. These loaves were evidently only of the common sort, the staple food and drink: special qualities, such as we see named frequently at Medinêt Habu and in some of the papyri, would command special prices.

In No. 72, l. 1, read $\frac{1}{2}$ in addition to the corrections already indicated for general observance. In l. 4 and elsewhere I am inclined to read $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ but I cannot quote any

decisive instance. It is the name for the corn as used in making bread. Here again the name of the measure is not repeated.

In No. 74 read for &c., &c., II so southern corn, hegat 200.

The following is a complete translation of No. 72 as a specimen, from which the others can be made out:—

"Section of exchanging bread for bread: as is said to thee, bread of *pefsu* 10, 100 loaves, exchanged for a quantity of loaves of *pefsu* 45;" (the problem is to find their quantity); make thou the excess of $\frac{1}{2}$; make thou 10 to find 35, it becomes $3\frac{1}{2}$; make thou 100 $3\frac{1}{2}$ times, it becomes 350; add thou 100 to it, it becomes 450; say thou it is the exchange-value, bread of *pefsu* 10 loaves 100 for bread of *pefsu* 45 loaves 450; it makes in bread-corn 10 *hegat*."

The scribe should have simply divided 45 by 10, and have multiplied 100 by the result.

No. 79, on Plate XX. This is evidently an addition written in a not very appropriate place. For the explanation of the section we are indebted to Rodet (*Journal Asiatique*, VII^{me} Série, vol. 18, 1881, p. 450 ff.) The first line is disfigured by a patch with copied writing that is not quite legible. It begins one woman (?)...house (?); perhaps to be restored, "an old woman and her household."

This takes the powers of 7 up to 7⁵, and it is perhaps not a more coincidence that the fifth power of 10 is the highest expressed by a single numeral in Egyptian arithmetic; the reason for thus tabulating the powers of 7 is to be sought in the fact that 7 is the only troublesome prime number below 10.

M. Rodet quotes the following parallel from the *Liber abaci* of Leonard of Pisa (saec. XII–XIII), p. 311. Septem vetulæ vadunt Romam; quarum quælibet habet burdones 7: et in quolibet burdone sunt sacculi 7; et in quolibet sacculo panes 7; et quilibet panis habet cultellos 7; et quilibet cultellus habet vaginas 7. Quaeritur summa omnium prædictorum.

The Egyptian sum recalls our nursery rhyme, "the house that Jack built." The problem expanded to its original form must be: "an old woman has seven houses, each house has 7 cats, each cat catches 7 rats, each rat eats 7 barleycorns, each barleycorn produces 7 bushels of grain. How many bushels of corn do the cats save?"

Here is a matter to engage the attention of the Folklore Society! Nos. 80, 81. Comparative table of *henu* with *heqat*.

No. 80 commences with:-

As to the *tebh* measure, the *kha*-measures that are in it, of the store-keepers of the officials of the departments of the ar (government stores)."

The table gives, in parallel columns, the two series: in the first column is the , heqat, which should therefore correspond to the tebh of the heading. In the second column is henu, which should correspond to the "heavy measures.* Similarly at Asyût we find the heqat and the heavy measures.* Similarly at Asyût we find the heqat and the heavy measures. The theorem wheat, the land was in order (?), making the city to live by heavy to live by heavy measures.

^{*} The passage may imply that the kha-measures were considered to belong especially to the officials of the $\dot{\alpha}r$.

measure and by heqat-measure : I allowed the peasant to take corn for himself and his wife, the widow for herself and her son."

I do not know of any other instance of the word as a corn measure, but the verb meaning to measure in all senses is very common.

with the determinative of wood (which is badly rendered in the facsimile but clear enough in the original) is shown by this passage to be the name of the wooden vessels (probably each containing one hegat, 2 hegat, or 4 hegat), which are seen in the hands of the labourers measuring corn. The word occurs in the Negative Confession, ch. 125 of the Book of the Dead, l. 8 = 16 of the introduction, and l. 19=6 of the confession, as ...: "I have not increased or reduced the measuring-vessel, I have not reduced the aroura, I have not taken a cubit from the fields, I have not added to the weight of the balance, I have not the plummet of the scales."

It will be recollected that the *henu* is about a pint measure, used for valuable substances in small amounts, while the *heqat* was the official corn measure of the country.

Nos. 82-4. Food of live-stock.

- I. "Estimate (or cost?) of food of the A aptu per, pond of domestic birds"
 - 2. makes in bread daily *heqat* of *utyt*
 - 3. fatted goose eats goose 10 $2\frac{1}{2}$

L. 2 and 3 have to be combined to make their meaning intelligible to those who are not accustomed to Egyptian accounts, thus:—

2, 3. The food of 10 fatted geese makes in bread daily $2\frac{1}{2}$ heqat of utyt (bread flour?)

4. ,, in 10 days $\frac{1}{4}$ of a hundred do.

5. ,, ,, 40 ,, 1 hundred do.

6. What must be ground to produce (?) 100 $\frac{1}{4}$ beteti-corn heqat $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{5}{12}$.

7. , Sut-corn $\frac{66\frac{2}{3}}{600}$ instead of $\frac{640}{900}$

- 8. That which has to be deducted according $\left. \left. \right\} 6 \frac{5}{12} \right. (sic)$ heqat. to $\frac{1}{10}$ (of the last)
- 9. Remainder (of 100), which is to be given $93\frac{2}{3}$ hegat.
- 10. Makes in shes-corn in hegat $93\frac{2}{3}$.
- 11. Makes in double hegat $47\frac{1}{199} (sic)$.

There are plenty of obscurities and small mistakes here, but the general sense of it can be gathered.

With l. 12 another section begins. It is not marked by Eisenlohr, but may be called 82a.

12. Account of fat goose, what it eats:—

10 birds $1\frac{1}{4}$ hegat.

13. Makes in 10 days ,. ... $12\frac{1}{4}(12\frac{1}{2}).$

14. ,, 40 ,,

15. Makes in shes-corn in double hegat 23\frac{3413}{3840} (after deducting $\frac{1}{6}$ of $\frac{2}{3}$).

No. 83:--

1, 2. If the food of 4 re-geese northern corn a henu. of those that are cooped

belong to 1 re-goose $\frac{1}{64}$ hegat $+\frac{3}{320}$. 3. 4, 5. If the food of re-goose that enters the pond be of northern

corn $\frac{1}{16}$ $\frac{1}{32}$ $\frac{2}{320}$ hegat (for 4 geese).

it is I hin to I re-goose

making for 10 re-geese 1 hegat

in 10 days 10 hegat in a month 30 hegat

Line 9. Daily allowance of food of a

re-goose being fattened, it eats hegat ... $\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32} \frac{3\frac{1}{3}}{320}$ per bird.

terp-goose $\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32} \frac{33}{320}$ a crane (zat) $\frac{1}{8} \frac{1}{32} \frac{3\frac{1}{3}}{320}$

a *set*-duck, sheldrake (?) $\frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64} \frac{1}{320}$

a ser-duck, teal (?) $\cdots \frac{1}{64} \frac{3}{320}$...

a turtle-dove (menut) ... $\cdots \qquad \cdots \qquad \frac{3}{3} \frac{3}{2} \frac{1}{0}$ a quail (párt)* $\cdots \frac{3}{320}$

All of these birds are to be found in the sculptures; see, e.g., Dümichen's Resultate, Pl. IX, bottom row, where, however, the names are not given. I shall return to the subject of the identification of these birds in another place.

^{*} For the name of the quail see Loret, A.Z. xxx, p. 25.

No. 84. Food of cattle. This is extremely inaccurate and unintelligible; the following may help:—

			•				
			<i>q</i> (food)	:	common (food		
Ι.	Estimate of the food of the		ḥeqat		<u> ḥeqat</u>		
	stall of cattle						
2.	Bull eats 4 fine bull of south	2	4		2		
3.	2	2	2		6		
4.	3 common cattle	2			2		
5.	I	2					
6.	Total of these bulls	8	6		10		
7.	Makes in bețeti-corn hegat		9		$7\frac{1}{2}$		
8.	Makes in 10 days		90		75		
9.	Makes in a month		200 (sic)		90 (sic)		
10.	10. Makes in double <i>heqat</i> northern						
	corn (?)		$61\frac{203}{320}$		30		
I defy anyone to make sense of all this.							

The numbers after 84, facsimiled in Pl. XXIV, do not belong to the Mathematical Text.

The "motto" No. 85 is perhaps a piece of cryptic writing; I have to note only that the end of l. r is broken away and the lower half of the last sign is hidden by a patch: the sign should be , not , as read by Eisenlohr.

No. 87. These curious jottings are: -

\(\begin{aligned}
\begin{aligned}
\begin{alig

2. A * | S A B S. to-morrow (?) to Zaru."

4. SA A B So. That Zaru had been entered."

b. 1. Colling of the colling of the

the heaven rained."

The last three lines were transcribed and commented upon by Erman, A.Z., xxix, p. 59.

As Professor Erman has pointed out, this gives us two calendrically important facts, viz.: that it thundered and rained (in the Delta) on the festivals of the birth of Set and Isis, the third and fourth of the supplementary days of the year, and that they fell on the third and fourth of Thoth.

The facsimile is not very good here, but the signs marked as doubtful in my transcription are hardly clearer in the original than in the facsimile; the rest are certain.

No. 86 is composed of two strips torn from a papyrus of accounts, and anciently pasted over a weak place in the roll. On the original they do not join properly; their re-arrangement in the plate, I believe, was due to Eisenlohr, but he did not risk a transcription of the fragments. The original is considerably clearer than the copy.

His brother the steward Kamesu.

5. $\frac{1}{11}$ $\frac{1}{1$

7. $III \longrightarrow 0$ $III \longrightarrow 0$ I

8.] \(\bigcap_{\text{in}} \bigcap_{\text{op}} \bigcap_{\text{op}

9. [] | 100 90 100 100 92. year àt-com 90, bețeti 192 do.

10. $e \stackrel{\text{traces}}{\bigcap} \stackrel{\text{III}}{\bigcap} \stackrel{\text{loo}}{\bigcap} \stackrel{\text{loo}}{\bigcirc} \stackrel{\text{loo$

silver ½ (value) in silver

13.] $\times \sum_{i=1}^{\infty} \overline{\bigcap_{i}} \overline{\bigcap_{i}} \overline{\bigcap_{i}} \overline{\bigcap_{i}} \overline{\bigcap_{i}} \overline{\bigcap_{i}} \overline{\bigcap_{i}} \cdots \overline{\bigcap_{i}} \overline{\bigcap_{i}} \overline{\bigcap_{i}} \overline{\bigcap_{i}} \overline{\bigcap_{i}} \overline{\bigcap_{i}} \cdots \overline{\bigcap_{i}} \overline{\bigcap_$

14. ...] 00 \sim 95 $\stackrel{\frown}{\parallel}$ 400 \sim 10. At-corn] 95 quadruple heqat; beteti 410 do

15-18. Similar

Do. do. do.

This is a miserable fragment, with lines broken at both ends, but it is not without interest. The writing shows that it is the work of the same scribe as the Mathematical Papyrus, and the name Ka-mesu is valuable as agreeing with all that we know of the date of that document. The use of a silver unit in Egypt for estimating value is thus taken back to the age of the Hyksos.

ADDENDUM.

Page 167. I might have noted that, in dates written in hieratic, the numerals for the days of the month are invariably turned on their sides. Monumental writing occasionally preserves this arrangement for the units, but never for the tens. The extremely ancient ostracon, No. 429 of the Leyden Museum (Monumens II, cexxviii), puts the reading of the hieratic beyond doubt, with

The word seshemt or semt (\(\simeq \) is misprinted smt, seshmt, eshemt on pp. 204-5.

NOTES DE PHILOLOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

(Suite.)*

95. Point de la grammaire néo-égyptienne, à propos d'un passage du Papyrus d'Orbiney; 96. Les noms de divinité de la grammaire de traduire, adoptée par l'éditeur des textes des pyramides pour un nombre de mots égyptiens, depuis longtemps connus; 98. = nes, préposition copte; 99. Passage du Papyrus Abbot; 100. Un paragraphe de la grammaire égyptienne de M. Erman.

^{*} Voir Proceedings, XV, page 493.

⁺ G. MASPERO, Contes populaires de l'Egypte ancienne, page 14.

pronom personnel de la troisième personne du singulier. Donc, je proposerais volontiers pour notre passage cette traduction-ci : "Il resta là à pleurer *sur lui. Il s'étendit*, mais il ne savait comment arriver à son petit frère, à cause des crocodiles."

J'ai ailleurs montré * que le groupe A a trait à la longeur, tout aussi bien qu'à la hauteur; quant à l'emploi verbal que nous avons adopté ici pour le dit group, cet emploi se voit partout dans les textes égyptiens, à partir des époques les plus réculées, et ne peut guère être sujet à des doutes.

Ce qui par contre paraîtrait peut-être plus hardi, c'est l'explication que nous avons proposée pour proposée pour

Les exemples, invoqués en faveur de cette règle sont, en dehors du nôtre, les deux suivants:

"das Herr des Pharao war betrübt," d'Orb. XVI, 6;

"er ward froh," d'Orb. XV, 3. Nous croyons, toutefois, que la règle en question manque d'apropos, en foi de quoi nous invitons le lecteur à l'examen des exemples suivants, tous datant de l'époque néo-égyptienne:

"Leurs cœurs le prirent en pitié," d'Orb. IX, 5;

"Leurs cœurs le prirent en pitié," d'Orb. IX, 5;

"Ce Torbette de lui, d'Orb. XV, 3;

"On se réjouit de lui, d'Orb. XV, 3;

"On se réjouit à cause d'eux," d'Orb. XVII, 2, etc.

Il paraît, d'ailleurs, que les mots, signifiant de l'agitation d'esprit, se construisent toujours de cette manière en égyptien. Voici une preuve fort ancienne de cette particularité :

^{*} Proceedings, XIV, page 135.

[†] ERMAN, Neuägyptische Grammatik, page 205, § 315.

"Son cœur à elle le prit en pitié, et elle lui tendit sa mamelle."*

Nous croyons donc pouvoir, en toute tranquillité, maintenir l'acception que nous avons recommandée pour le passage du Papyrus d'Orbiney, qui fait l'en-tête de ce paragraphe, en même temps que nous exigeons que la grammaire néo-égyptienne soit modifiée, quant à la règle, relative aux verbes impliquant la notion d'agitation d'esprit.

96. Le nom de dieu adoit être d'origine très ancienne, si l'on réfléchit à ce que nous le rencontrons déjà aux textes des pyramides de Sakkâra. Je ne crois pas qu'on en ait fourni d'étymologie scientifique. De mon côté, je ne suis pas sûr de pouvoir en donner, mais une hypothèse à ce sujet peut sans doute se permettre, si cette hypothèse se présente, toute exempte de prétention.

Depuis longtemps, j'ai cru, en cherchant l'origine du dit nom de dieu, la possibilité de le dériver de la formule , "descends vers moi," si fréquente sur les stèles du Moyen Empire. Cette supposition se trouve corroborée par un passage, emprunté aux Inscriptions de Sharpe,† où se lit l'expression suivante : , variante d'un passage bien connu, appartenant aux textes en question. Ici, la formule , "descend vers moi," est visiblement déterminée par le signe , idéogramme dont s'écrit le nom de dieu Aker.

Après la remarque intéressante que vient de livrer ‡ M. Le Page Renouf, concernant le rôle du dieu Aker, l'étymologie que je viens de mentionner me paraît plus vraisemblable qu'auparavant, surtout, parce que de cette façon nous n'avons guère besoin de supposer l'existence d'une racine , qui d'ailleurs est complètement inconnue. Nous savons, du reste, que le dieu Aker joue un double

^{*} Pyramide de Pepi I, 1. 286.

[†] Sharpe, Egyptian Inscriptions, II, 86.

[‡] Proceedings, XV, p. 385.

rôle: d'un côté il reçoit ceux qui descendent à l'Occident, de l'autre côté il fait poindre au jour ceux qui à l'instar du Soleil, montent chaque matin sur l'horizon de l'est.* La descente se faisait très naturellement le soir, d'où s'expliquerait "la fête de la nuit."

Ces appréciations concordent avec les données d'autres textes. Ainsi au *Todtenbuch*,† nous rencontrons le nom de fête : (), (), dont une variante‡ offre la forme (), "fête du dieu Aker," et un autre passage§ du même document appelle le dieu en question du nom de ().

On pense bien que la meilleure preuve que je puisse citer comme analogie de l'étymologie que je viens de donner pour le nom de dieu , c'est le Mavépus, qui a fourni à Brugsch la matière d'un de ses plus curieux travaux.

Le signe d'ailleurs est polyphone. Ainsi aux basses époques, il revêt la valeur de , jouant alors le rôle qu'à le signe des textes des pyramides de Saqqârah. De cette manière, on comprend facilement la variante , que donnent les textes ptolémaïques et romains pour le nom de dieu , qui originairement n'a rien de commun avec le nom divin , pas plus que les rôles de ces divinités ne s'accordent entre eux.

Ayant parlé d'un nom de divinité, je suis peut-être permis d'en toucher un autre, j'entends celui de . Il y a bien longtemps que mon attention s'est portée sur le texte de la statue A 97 du Louvre, où un personnage s'appelle

^{*} Cette dernière action est désignée comme "un dévoilement de la figure' de l'individu. Voire La pyramide Pepi II, l. 613.

[†] Todtenbuch, XVIII, 6; XIX, 7.

[‡] Von Bergmann, Der Sarkophag des Panehemisis I, page 38.

[§] Todtenbuch, XIV, 60.

Voir en dernier lieu Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie der alten Acgypter, page 14.

[•] Cfr. von Bergmann, Hieroglyphische Inschriften, pl. 38.

ce que timidement j'avais cru pouvoir rendre par "Conseiller intime du roi dans toutes ses places, prophète de Seschet." Toutefois, le second pouvait appartenir comme épithète à pouvait appartenir comme épithète à pouvait appartenir souvent les formes des mots, comme ils sautent volontiers la caractéristique du féminin.

M. Le Page Renouf,* sans connaître mes vues à ce sujet, il y a longtemps, est arrivé à lire comme moi, "prophète de Seschet," le passage de l'inscription du Louvre. Le même savant cite aussi la déese des pyramides, en la regardant comme identique à du monument du Louvre. Mais le nom de la l'allitération ("Nephthys a resserré pour toi tous les membres en son nom de Seshaït, dame des enceintes),† selon

- * Proceedings, XV, page 378. [Here I only say what I proved elsewhere, ten years ago.] The fresh evidence cited by our learned friend and valued colleague is indeed most excellent. But on referring to my argument (in Transactions, Vol. IX, p. 303), he can hardly fail to see that he has misapprehended it. I do not cite the name of the goddess Seshait of the Pyramid of Teta in connection with the name upon the statuette of the Louvre, but as a variant in copies of one and the same ancient text. I appeal to two sets of variants.
- I. The whole passage of the text in Teta 268 is found elsewhere. I have quoted the British Museum Papyrus 10081 as containing it. But it also occurs on the lid of the red granite sarcophagus (No. 3) in the British Museum, copies of which will be found in Sharpe, I, 77, and in Vyse, Pyramids, II, 136 sq. From a collation of these identical texts the equation $\frac{1}{2} = se&ait \text{ is necessarily inferred.}$
- 2. The same equation results from a comparison between the netting scene in the great hall of the temple at Karnak and the *same* scene at Esneh. The name of the goddess which is ideographically written at the latter place is, in the former, phonetically written *Sešait*.

With such facts before one, and they are absolutely independent of each other, there can be no more mistake about the statue in the Louvre than with that in the Berlin Museum. And each of these statues furnishes absolute proof that we have in the above cases, I and 2, to do with phonetic variants, not with different readings. The consilience of evidence is so striking as to deserve this additional statement of it.

The upright part of the ideogram is evidently (as Dr. Pleyte, I think, first asserted) the *reed-pen*, an appropriate symbol of the writing goddess.

P. LE P. R.]

[†] Recueil de Vieweg, XIV, page 184.

[1894.

M. MASPERO, la dite déesse pourrait à la rigueur ne devoir son nom qu'à cette allitération, par conséquent elle pût manquer de réalité.

A mon sens, il faut donc une meilleure preuve à l'appui de la lecture pour le nom de déese . Je crois l'avoir trouvée dans un texte de Berlin, texte qui, comme celui du Louvre, couvre une statue de l'époque Saïte. Voici ce que nous y lisons :

Cette dernière preuve peut, je crois, se dire définitive. donc, à l'exemple de M. Le Page Renouf, dorénavant Seschet, le nom de la déesse 👫 🔾 . †

* Statue de The Ton peut bien se demander si les trois déesses ne sont pas des sormes différenciées d'une même déesse originaire



ON THE ROYAL TITLES

By A. C. Bryant, B.A., and F. W. READ.

In a lengthy and important note to his translation of a Hymn to Amen-Rā,* M. Grébaut demonstrated that the real meaning of the royal titles 🌿 was not King of Upper and Lower Egypt, but King of the whole earth of the South and King of the whole earth of the North. In his reference to the μέγας βασιλεύς τῶν το ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω χωρών of the Rosetta Stone, he appears, it is true, to have modified his opinion a little, but this hesitation does not affect his previous argument. The new interpretation was apparently accepted by Mr. Renouf,† but in some recent articles published in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology! he appears to hint at some different rendering. If in the stele of Paānhi the words and & are used separately to express the idea of king or kinglet,§ that fact would tell as much against the view of M. Grébaut as it would against the older translation. It would of course be absurd to translate in Heaven of Upper Egypt, King upon Earth of Lower Egypt," and so forth, || but it would be equally absurd to say "King of the South in Heaven, King of the North upon Earth," etc. [Mr. Renouf might have strengthened this part of his argument by a comparison between the Greek text of the Rosetta Stone and the stele of Damanhur. Although not perfectly satisfactory, the general correspondence between κυρίου τριακουταετηρίδων, καθάπερ ὁ "Ηφαιστος ὁ μέγας βασιλέως, καθάπερ ὁ ήλιος [ὁ] μέγας βασιλεύς, τῶν τε ἄνω καὶ

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^{*} Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes: Sciences Philologiques et Historiques. Fasc. 21.

⁺ See Hibbert Lectures, 1879, p. 162.

[‡] Vol. XIV, pp. 23-25, 108-111.

[§] Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. XIV, p. 23. | Ibid., p. 110.

^{¶ &}quot;La Stèle 5576 du Musée de Boulaq," Recueil de Travaux, Vol. VI.

and ," Mr. Renouf says, " are divine and priestly titles which have no reference to earthly geography;" but we think it possible to show from an inscription whose age gives it far more authority than a text contemporary with the Rosetta Stone can possess, that, whatever the original meanings of the words, the Egyptians regarded as an appropriate title for the ruler of the South, and as an appropriate title for the ruler of the North.

In the reign of the Ethiopian king Śabaka, a very ancient and much mutilated mythological inscription in the temple of Ptehu at Memphis was re-copied, and the copy set up in the temple in place of the original. This copy, now in its turn much mutilated, forms part of the British Museum collection, in which it is numbered 135* The text has been published by Sharpe§ and translated by Goodwin.

The first part of the inscription relates to the drowning of Ausari; the middle is absolutely indecipherable; and the last part details the reconciliation between Heru and Suti through the mediation of Sebu, and the partition of "the two lands," whether of Egypt or of the earth may perhaps be doubtful, between them.

Egypt, where the boundary-line between the two divisions of the

^{*} Rosetta Stone, lines 2 and 3.

[†] Stele of Damanhur, line 2.

[‡] Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. XIV, pp. 110, 111.

[§] Egypt. Inscr., Pl. 36-38.

[|] Mél. Egypt., Série 3, Tom. I, pp. 247-285.

Sharpe, Egypt. Inser., Pl. 36, line 16.

The earth, or the country, having been thus divided, Sebu appointed Heru king of one half, and Suti of the other.

Suti is made *suten* of the southern land, and Heru *nåt* of the northern land. It is clear then that in the mind of the original author of this text the titles did have some reference to earthly geography.

Originally, without doubt, divine titles, they were afterwards adopted by the sovereign. Used separately, either seems to have had the simple meaning of king; but as _____, "the two lands," meant the land of the South and the land of the North, so _____, "the two kings," meant King of the South and King of the North. To disprove this would require far stronger evidence than a text of the time of the Ptolemies.

* Sharpe, Egypt. Inscr., Pl. 36, line 17.



The next Meeting of the Society will be holden at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on November the 6th, at 8 p.m., when the following papers will be read by the President:-

- I. "The Hippopotamus in Egyptian Texts, and Beast-gods."
- II. "A Review of the Scientific Labours of the late Brugsch-Pasha."



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VOL. XVI. TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION.

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,,	XVI,		1893-94		2	0	(in	progr	ess)	2	6		

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TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1893-94.

Eighth Meeting, 6th November, 1894.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President, in the chair.

The President referred to the severe loss suffered by the Society by the death of several of its Members, whose scientific labours have done so much to advance knowledge.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR A. H. LAYARD, G.C.B., etc., etc. (Vice-President).

HEINRICH BRUGSCH-PASHA (Hon. Member).

DR. JAMES DARMESTETER (Hon. Member).

Mr. WYATT PAPWORTH, F.R.I.B.A., who was for many years a Member of the Council, and took great interest in all its proceedings.

The following Donations to the Library were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Rev. R. Gwynne, Secretary for Foreign Correspondence. Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the Convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai. By Mrs. Lewis. Cambridge University Press, 1894.

Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai. By Mrs. Gibson. Cambridge University Press, 1894.

An Arabic Version of the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, with part of the Epistle to the Ephesians; from a Ninth Century MS. in the Convent of St. Katharine on Mount Sinai. Edited by Mrs. Gibson. Cambridge University Press, 1894.

Catalogue of Antiquities from the Temple of Coptos, discovered in 1894.

From the Author:—Prof. Dr. Paul Haupt. Johns Hopkins University Circulars. Vol. XIII, 114, July, 1894, contains a number of articles by Dr. Haupt and others.

The Book of Ecclesiastes. Philadelphia. 8vo. 1894.

Transitive and Intransitive Verbs in Semitic. 8vo.

Einige Verbesserungen und Nachträge zu meinen Akkadischen und Sumerischen Keilschrifttexten. 8vo.

Ueber einen Dialekt der Sumerischen Sprache. Gottingen. 8vo. 1880.

Beiträge zur Assyrischen Lautlehre. Gottingen. 8vo. 1883. The Battle of Hallûle, B.C. 691. Andover. 8vo. 1886.

Glossar I. Wörterverzeichniss zum Sintfluthberichte. 8vo.

The Assyrian Writing. 8vo. (one sheet). 1888.

Über den Halbvocal u im Assyrischen. 8vo.

The Assyrian E-vowel, a Contribution to the Comparative Pnonology of the Assyro-Babylonian Language. Baltimore. 8vo. 1887.

Biblical and Historical Criticism. The Language of Nimrod, the Kashite. 8vo.

Wâteh-Ben-Hazael, Prince of Kedarenes, about B.C. 650. Chicago. 8vo. 1885.

On the Penitential Psalm "De Profundis." 8vo.

The Etymology of Nekasim. 8vo.

- From the Author:—Dr. Arthur Lincke. Wo lag Bechten? Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der alten Geographie Vorderasiens. 8vo.
- From the Publishers:—Williams and Norgate. A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language (Assyrian, English, German). By W. Muss-Arnolt. Part I. (To be completed in about eight parts.)
- From the Author:—Gio. Batt. Lugari. Sull' Origine e fondazione di Roma. Parte III, ed ultima. Roma. Fol. 1892.
- From the Author:—Johannis Baptiste de Lugari. Dissertatio ad legem unicam Codicis de Thesauris. Lib. X, Tit XV. Roma. Fol. 1894.
- From the Author:—Gio. Batt. Lugari. S. Bonifazio e S. Alessio sull' aventino. Roma. Fol. 1894.
 - S. Siro primo Vescovo di Pavia. Roma. 8vo. 1894.
- From Isaac Myer, LL.B.: -- Scarabs: The History, Manufacture, and Religious Symbolism of the Scarabæus in Ancient Egypt, Phænicia, Sardinia, etc. London. 8vo. 1894.
- From Thomas H. Boyd:—Ancient Jerusalem; a New Investigation into the History, Topography, and Plan of the City, Environs, and Temple. By J. Francis Thrupp, M.A. Cambridge. 1855.
- From the Author:—Prof. M. Jastrow. Oriental Studies. A selection of the Papers read before the Oriental Society of Philadelphia, 1888–1894. Boston (U.S.A.). 1894.
- From the Committee of the Society for the Preservation of the Monuments of Ancient Egypt:—Reservoirs in the Valley of the Nile (with a Map). London. 8vo. 1894.
- From the Compiler:—J. B. Dimbleby. All Past Time, etc., etc. 8th edit. 8vo. 1894.
- From Arthur Davis:—The Song of Chess; attributed to Abraham Ibn Ezra (1093-1167), with translation by Miss Nina R. Davis.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting, to be held the 4th December, 1894:—

Mrs. Cathcart, Pitcaislie, near Newburgh, Fifeshire.
Edward Donaldson, Caius College, Cambridge.
C. Fox, M.R.C.S., F.S.P., Lodge Hill, Kingswood, near Bristol.
Dr. Hermann Haupt, Giessen University.
George Francis Legge, 6, Gray's Inn Square, W.C.

Papers were read by P. le Page Renouf (President):-

I. "The Hippopotamus in Egyptian Texts, and Beast-gods."
II. "A Review of the Scientific Labours of the late Brugsch-Pasha."

Thanks were returned for these Communications.



BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER XCIX.

Chapter whereby one Saileth a Ship in the Netherworld.

Oh thou who sailest the ship of Nu over that chine which is void, (1) let me sail the ship; let me fasten my tackle (2) in peace; in peace! Come, come; Fleet one, Fleet one! Let me come to see my father Osiris.

Oh thou who art veiled, let me enjoy happiness.

Oh thou who art clouded, but manful, and who sailest round over that chine of Âpepi; thou of firm head and steadfast breast when coming forth from the fiery blows: Oh thou who art at the ship, let me sail the ship, let me fasten my tackle and come forth.

This place is empty, into which the starry ones fall down headlong upon their faces, (3) and find not aught whereby they can raise themselves up.

Narrow is the path as the tongue of Rā. (4)

[The Patrol who goeth round, and who piloteth the Double Earth; Seb abideth stably by means of their rudders: the divine Form which revealeth the Solar Orb: and He who presideth over the Red ones. (5)]

Let me be brought in as a distressed mariner, and let my Soul come to me, which is my brother, and go to that place which thou knowest.

"Let me be told my name," say,

- 1. The Mooring-post. "Lord of the Double-Earth in the Shrine" is thy name.
 - 2. The Blade of the Rudder. "Leg of Apis" is thy name.
- 3. The Hawser. "The Side-Lock which Anubis fastens on to the swathing work" is thy name.

- 4. The Stern or Stem Posts. "The two columns of the Netherworld" is thy name.
 - 5. The Hold. "Akar" is thy name.
- 6. The Mast. Bearer of the Great one whilst she passeth" is thy name.
 - 7. The Keel. "Backbone of Apuat" is thy name.
 - 8. The Mast-head. "Throat of Emsta" is thy name.
 - 9. The Sail. "Nut" is thy name.
- 10. The Leathers. (6) Made of the hide of Mnevis, which Sutu hath scorched," is thy name.
 - 11. The Oars. "Fingers of the elder" is your name.
- 12. The Bracement. "Hand of Isis, stanching the blood of the Eye of Horus," is thy name.
- 13. The Ribs. "Emsta, Hapi, Tuamautef, Kebehsenuf, He who taketh captive, He who taketh by force, He who seeth his Father, and He who maketh himself," are your names.
 - 14. The Look-out: (7) "Master of the Grounds" (8) is thy name.
 - 15. The Tiller: (9) "Merit" (10) is thy name.
- 16. The Rudder: "The Umpire, beaming forth from the water," is thy name.
- 17. The Hull: "The Leg of Hathor, which Rā wounded, on his lifting her into the Sektit Boat," is thy name.
 - 18. The Boatman: "Off" is thy name.
- 19. The Breeze, since thou art conveyed by me: "The Northern Breeze proceeding from Tmu to the Nose of Chent-Amenta" is thy name.
- 20. The Stream, since thou sailest upon me: "Their Mirror" is thy name.
- 21. The Shallow: (11) "Destroyer of the large-handed at the place of purification" is thy name,
- 22. The Land, since thou walkest upon me: "The Tip of Heaven, the Coming forth from the swathings in the Garden of Aarru, and the Coming forth in Exultation," is thy name.

To be said before them.

Hail to you, Fair in Form, Lord of issues, who are springing up for ever, and whose double goal is eternity: turn to me your hands, give to me food and offerings for my mouth; let me eat the *Bot*-bread, the *Shensu*-cake and the *Kefen*-cake: let my place be in the great hall in presence of the mighty god.

I know that mighty god to whose nostrils ye present delicacies. Tekmu is his name: and whether he, whose name is Tekmu, turneth from the East or advanceth to the West, let his course be my course.

Let me not be stopped at the Meskat; let not the Sebau have mastery over my limbs.

I have bread in Pu and beer in Tepu. Let your largesses of this day be granted to me; offerings of wheat and barley, offerings of ānta and of vestments, offerings of oxen, and ducks, which are offerings for life, health and strength, and also offerings for coming forth by day, in all the forms in which it pleaseth me to come forth in the Garden of Aarru.

If this chapter be known he will come forth at the Garden of Aarru; there will be given to him the Shensu-cake, the measure of drink and the persen-cake, and fields of wheat and barley of seven cubits (It is the followers of Horus who reap them), for he eateth of that wheat and barley, and he is made whole in his limbs through that wheat and barley, and his limbs spring up even as with those gods. And he cometh forth in the Garden of Aarru in all the forms in which it pleaseth him to come forth.

Notes.

One of the Paris papyri (Pb) contains a composition bearing the same title as Chapter 99, and M. Naville has published it as an introduction to the usual chapter. It is no doubt of very great interest, but it is the imperfect copy of a quite independent composition which really has no claim to be considered a part of our Book of the Dead.

- 1. See Chapter 7, title and notes. *Cf.* the $ai\theta \hat{\eta}\rho \ \hat{\epsilon}\rho\eta\mu\sigma$ of Pindar and the Latin expressions 'vacuum per inane,' 'per inania.'
- 3. Comp. Chapter 44 on the cavern where the dead fall into the darkness, 'but the Eye of Horus supporteth me, and Apuat reareth me up.' There may be an allusion here, as there is elsewhere, to shooting stars. It is worth noticing that—a group which ought, I think, to be read \bigcap X (Ca and Ac) has in most papyri the

wrong determinative f instead of \star , which was misunderstood, and that Ab has even $f \star f$.

4. A corrupt passage, like the next.

5. The corruption of the whole passage between [] will be best understood on comparing it with the names of "the Rudders of Heaven" as given in Chapter 148; the earliest text of these names being (I think) the fine tablet in *Denkm*. III, 25 bis a. *Three* out of four of these names are represented by the phrases here printed in italics. The rest is incoherent and was certainly not understood by the copyists. I have followed *Aa* in my translation.

6. 'The Leathers,' or or or \mathcal{P} for the leathern thongs, or straps, like the Greek $\tau \rho o \pi o i$ for fastening the oars,

ἸΗρτύναντο δ' ἐρετμὰ τροποῖς ἐν δερματίνοισι: Odyss. 4, 782. See note of Scholiast and cf. Aesch. Pers., 376.

7. Look out \$\frac{1}{2}\$, see Chapter 15, note 9.

8. Grounds. $\begin{picture}(20,0) \put(0,0){\line(0,0){100}} \put(0,0){\l$

The very ancient magical text (Unas 302) speaks characterically of the Hippopotamus who maketh his appearance at the garden (vineyard, field, &c. Cf. Psalm lxxx, 13).

In the great inscription published in Mariette's *Denderah*, IV, 35, $\frac{1}{2}$ is used, in a sense like that of the ' $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ is used, in a sense like that of the ' $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ is used, in a sense like that of the ' $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ is used, in a sense like that of the ' $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ is used, in a sense like that of the ' $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{$

9. Tiller. Jah Dait, or (as it is also written) abait; see Chapter 76, note 1.

determinatives; Bekenranef adds is the name of each of the two divine sisters, Isis and Nephthys, see Chapter 37, note; who are called and and and But, at Edfu, Denderah and

Philae, Merit is a synonym of the Ut'at, and one of the names of Hathor.

not only the determinative of *land*, but those of water, = and . And in some texts it would seem to mean *marsh*, *fen*, swamp.

CHAPTER C.

The Book whereby the glorified one is made strong, and is made to embark in the boat of Rā, together with those who are with the god.

Let me convey the divine Heron to the East, Osiris to Tattu, Let me open the caverns of Hāpu (1), clear the path of the Solar Orb and tow along Sekaru upon his sledge. Let the Great one give me strength at her fixed hour.

I hail and give worship to the Orb, and associate myself with those in adoration, I am one of them.

Let me be a second to Isis; and let her glorified ones give me strength.

Let me fasten my tackle, let me stop the adversary, and force him to turn back his steps.

Let Rā lend me his two hands, let not his divine Boatmen prevent me. Let my strength be that of the divine Eye, and conversely.

[As to the sundering of me in the Bark of $R\bar{a}$, let the sundering be as that of the Egg and the Tortoise. (2)]

Said over the Figure in the Text, which is written upon clean paper, with artist's ink, fresh and mixed with essence of Ānta; let the dead person have it put upon his body without inserting it into his limbs; he will enter into the Bark of Rā at the round of each day, Thoth will appreciate him, on his coming forth or entering, undeviatingly for times infinite.

NOTES.

This chapter appears a second time in the Turin *Todteubuch* as Chapter 129. But in the papyrus of Nebseni it is found no less than three times.

- 1. Caverns of Hāpu. Two of the copies of this chapter in the papyrus of Nebseni give the interesting variant of the papyrus of Nebseni give the interesting variant of the state of the well known equivalent of the Nile are also indicated by the group of the state of the papyrus of the papyru
- 2. This passage does not occur in Chapter 129, and is apparently an interpolation, which however is already found in ancient copies.

CHAPTER CI.

Chapter of the Safeguards of the Bark of Rā.

O thou who art devoid of moisture in coming forth from the stream; and who restest upon the deck of thy Bark: as thou proceedest in the direction of Yesterday, and restest upon the deck of thy Bark, let me join thy boatmen.

I am a powerful Chu.

O $R\bar{a}$, in that thy name of $R\bar{a}$, since thou passest through an Eye of seven cubits, whose pupil is of three: do thou then make me sound, I am a powerful Chu, let thy soundness be my soundness.

O $R\bar{a}$, in that thy name of $R\bar{a}$, since thou passest through those who are perishing headlong: do thou then keep me standing on my feet. I am a powerful Chu, let thy soundness be my soundness.

O $R\bar{a}$, in that thy name of $R\bar{a}$, since thou openest the secrets of the Ammehit, which gladdeneth the hearts of the Divine Circle: do thou then give me my heart. I am a powerful Chu, let thy soundness be my soundness, and the soundness of thy limbs be the soundness of my limbs.

Secured by reason of the writing with gum mixed with colours upon a strip of royal papyrus, put at the throat of the deceased on the day of burial. If these phylacteries are put at his throat, he will rise up as one of the Divine Circle, and be united to the followers of Horus, whilst his Lamp is made firm by Isis in heaven beside Sothis. He followeth Horus who resideth in Sothis. (1) His Shade becometh divine as well as human. Vegetation is made to grow out of his body through the goddess Menkit. (2) He becometh a god for ever, and his limbs are made vigorous in the Netherworld through Thoth, who hath done the like to Osiris, in causing the light to rise out of his dead body; undeviatingly and for times infinite.

Notes.

This chapter does not occur in the earlier collections known to us.

- I. Horus who resideth in Sothis Teta, 277.
- 2. Menkit is one of the names of Hathor, but the place is corrupt and the true reading uncertain.

CHAPTER CII.

Chapter whereby one entereth into the Bark of Rā.

O Great One in thy Bark, let me be lifted into thy Bark. Let me make head for thy staircase. Let me have charge of those who convey thee, who are attached to thee, who are of the Stars which never set.

That which I abominate, I eat not: and that which I abominate is Dirt, let me not eat of it, but of peace offerings and of Kaofferings, by which I shall not be upset.

Let me not approach it with my hands, let me not tread upon it with my sandals, because my bread is of the white corn and my beer of the red corn of the Nile.

It is the Sektit boat and the Āātib which have brought me to the food and raiment which are upon the altar of the Spirits of Annu.

Salutation to thee, Ur-ar-set, in that voyage of heaven and the disaster in Tennu, when those dogs were gathered together, not without giving voice.

I have come myself and delivered the god from that pain and suffering, that was in trunk, in shoulder and in leg.

I have come and healed (1) the trunk, and fastened the shoulde, and made firm the leg.

And I embark for the voyage of Rā.

NOTE.

1. Healed. Such is the meaning of , as in Chapter 147, and Unas 214, no less than in a passage which does not occur in the most ancient texts of Chapter 17, but which is found in the

papyri and is derived from the early traditions. Thoth healed the face of Horus.

CHAPTER CIII.

Chapter whereby one openeth the place where Hathor abideth.

I am a pure follower. O Ahi; O Ahi; (1) let me become one of the followers of Hathor.

NOTE.

CHAPTER CIV.

Chapter whereby one sitteth in the midst of the great gods.

Let me sit in the midst of the great gods. Let me pass through the place of the Sektit boat. It is the Bird-fly deity (1) that shall convey me to see the great gods who are in the Netherworld, and I shall be triumphant in their presence.

NOTE.

1. The Bird-fly deity, Abait; see Chapter 76, note.

CHAPTER CV.

Chapter whereby one propitiateth (1) the Ka.

Hail to thee, my Ka, my coeval. (2)

May I come to thee and be glorified and made manifest and ensouled, let me have strength and soundness.

Let me bring to thee grains of incense wherewith I may purify myself and may also purify thine own overflow. The wrong assertions that I have uttered, and the wrong resistance which I have offered: let them not be imputed to me.

For I am the green gem, fresh at the throat of $R\bar{a}$, given by those who are at the Horizon: their freshness is my freshness [said twice], the freshness of my Ka is like theirs, and the dainties of my Ka are like theirs.

Thou who liftest the hand at the Balance, and raisest Law to the nose of Rā in this day [of my Ka]: do not thou put my head away from me. For I am the Eye which seeth and the Ear which heareth; and am I not the Bull of the sacrificial herd, are not the mortuary gifts (3) upon me and the supernal powers [otherwise said: the powers above Nut].

Grant that I may pass by thee, and may purify myself and cause the triumph of Osiris over his adversaries. (4)

Notes.

1. Propitiate, \(\frac{1}{\infty}\). The simple root \(\frac{1}{\infty}\) hetep signifies, what is implied by the ideographic sign \(\hat{\infty}\), the taking hold, embracing, and kindred notions (Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. X, p. 578). The notion of appeasing an angry personage is no more necessarily involved in the Egyptian word than in the Latin propitiare. M. Léfebure's translation, réunir, in the title of this chapter is perfectly correct as far as it goes.

See in *Denkm.*, III, pl. 34, b, the picture of Thothmes III being greeted by his *ka* Rameses II and other kings are often represented in the act of supplicating their own *ka*.

2. My coeval or, as some might prefer, my duration of life.

The pictures in the temple of Luxor (Denkm., III, 74 and 75) are well known which represent the birth of Amenophis III. The infant prince in each of these pictures is accompanied by his ka, his exact image. The ka is nursed and suckled by the same goddesses.

But perhaps the best commentary on our text is to be found in the picture recently published by the French Mission Archéologique (*Temple de Luxor*, fig. 203), in which both the royal infant and his ka are being fashioned by the hand of Chnum, upon his potter's wheel.

3. Mortuary gifts OVO 2 , meals offered to the departed. The meaning of the compound group is plain enough from the determinatives, and such frequent forms as "consisting of bread and beer," but the origin of it is not so clear. The usual meaning of \ \ \ \ \ \ \ like that of the Coptic Down is voice, but in the present group it stands for \ ? corresponding to Δρε, plur. ΔρΗΟΥΙ, τροφή, βρώματα, εξέσματα, and is to be understood as in the very common formula

The reading which is sometimes found in late texts is faulty and leads to an erroneous interpretation. A is a mistake either for \bigwedge or for \bigcirc , the phonetic of \cline{b} .

In such passages of the Pyramid texts as (Unas 36) is a demonstrative not a negative particle, "Here is the mortuary meal presented for thee, and here are the two Eyes, the White and the Black, of Horus."

4. All the early MSS. except Pd omit this last passage.

CHAPTER CVI.

Chapter whereby a largess is presented at Hat-ka-Ptah. (1)

Oh thou god of nutriment, oh great one who presidest over the mansions on high; [to whom bread cometh from Annu] ye who give bread to Ptah [from Annu], give me bread and beer: let me be made pure by the sacrificial joint, together with the white bread. (2)

Oh thou ship of the Garden of Aarru, let me be conveyed to that bread of thy canal; as my father, the Great one, who advanceth in the Divine ship [because I know thee].

NOTES.

This is one of the chapters found on the sarcophagus of Horhotep. It is also inscribed on a statue, now in the Berlin

Museum, belonging to the early part of the XVIIIth dynasty (*Denkm.*, III, 25 h and k). These authorities, however, do not give the title found in the papyri. The allusions to Annu (Heliopolis) are confined to the earliest text, which somewhat differs from the later authorities, and finishes sooner than they do.

- 1. Hat-ka-Ptah is the name of Memphis, but as in so many other places it is not the earthly city which is meant. M. Naville has pointed out that the words "in the Netherworld" are added in the papyrus of Nebseni.
- 2. Bread and beer are not mentioned in the earliest text, which has other important variants. The latest texts have the verb wash, make clean, purify, of which which on the Berlin statue and the Theban papyri may fairly be considered an older form. But Horhotep has with the construction differing from that of the other texts.

The words occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates after of the group occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates of the group occur as a familiar formula in the constant texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates of the group occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in the Pyramid texts (Unas, 185, 205; Teta, 91); but Horhotep interpolates occur as a familiar formula in th

It is not uninteresting to note, with reference to the correctness of the title of this chapter, that the Pyramid ritual (Unas, 205) expressly says of the deceased that "the sacrificial joint with the white bread" are the "largess" $\left(\bigcap_{n \in \mathbb{N}} \bigcirc_{n \in \mathbb{N}} \bigcirc_{n \in \mathbb{N}} \right)$ which he receives.

CHAPTER CVIII.

[The chapter so called consists, in fact, of the first two lines of Chapter 109. The vignette over it really belongs to Chapter 108. It has no separate existence in any of the papyri of the best periods.]

NOTE ON A FRAGMENT OF THE ADAPA-LEGEND.

By S. ARTHUR STRONG.

It may be within the recollection of members of the Society that, in 1892*, Professor Sayce wrote a letter to *The Academy*, stating that many years before he had copied at the British Museum an unnumbered tablet containing a fragment of the story of Adapa. At the same time he communicated a translation, from which it appeared that, in comparison with the larger and more important fragment at Berlin, our own text had preserved an earlier part of the same legend. But without the number there seemed to be no clue to the rediscovery of the actual tablet.

However, a few days ago, when examining some of the mythological texts catalogued in Dr. Bezold's third volume, my eye was caught by the word Adapa, on a fragment which also contained references to Anu and Ea, and a closer study of the document soon convinced me that here was the text that Professor Sayce had copied. Unfortunately, of the few lines that remain, most are broken off at both ends and otherwise mutilated; but, such as the text is, I hasten to communicate it, as follows:—

^{* 23}rd July. See also Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, vol. ii, pp. 183-4.

[†] Catalogue, p. 906, "Portion of a mythological text concerning various gods."

まるま 「川子・川バ・・三川」 きるま (IEI W - + = IIII IV EI - = I E= II I \(\sim\) - I \(\delta\) = I \(\del\) = I \(\delta\) = I \(\delta\) = I \(\delta\) = I \(\delta\) = ※ナトコダーバートニュートウンスターに関うし、アリストルの 《你以到本 刊》 二八年 到 一八 年161-1114-日 #III= →K ★II II 4II 《母》所入母《下《二》以《文》: る年や年★~・三川・川・川・井・ナ 主体工主令主体公 件体 [1] [1] 国 1/ 女正 夕年 - 51 【 ()- 1 年 日 能性はなりに立みすっ 第一次,其际过十份总经过证案

TRANSLITERATION.

. . . iķ-[bišumma?] šu-u

. . . . iķ-bi-šum-ma šu-u ip-pa-[lis]

. . . aš-ba-ta ik-bi-šum-ma šu-u il-la-ma . . .

(ilu) A-nu ana ip-šit (ilu) Ê-a ša-ķiš i-și-ih-ma

5 ilâni ša šam-ê u irşi-tim ma-la ba-šu-u man-nu ki-a-am dib-bak ki-bit-su en(?)-ķi-ma ki-bit (ilu) A-nu man-nu u-at-tar

	[A]-da-pa ištu i-šid šam-ê ana ê-lat šam-ê
	[ip]-pa-lis-ma pu-luḫ-ta-šu i-mur šu (ilu) A-nu ša A-da-pa ê-li-šuta iš-kun
10	ki ša (ilu) Ê-a šu-ba-ra-šu iš-kun
	[(ilu) A]-nu bêl-us-su ana ar-kat û-mê ana šu-pi-i šim-tu i(?)-
	šim(?)
	A-da-pa zi-ir a-mi-lu-ti
	ni-šu šal-țiš kap-pi šu-u-ti iš-bi-ru
	a-na šam-ê ê-lu u-ši-i-lu u ki-a-am
	ša-kan u ša lim-niš ana nišî iš-tak-nu
	mur-șu ša ina zumur niší iš-tak-nu
	[šu]-a-tum (ilu) Nin-kar-ra-ak u-na-aḫ-ḫu
	bi-ma si-im-mu mur-ṣu liš-mur
	šu-a-tum ḫar-ba-šu lim-ḳut-ma
20	šit-tum hi-tum la i-ṣal-lal
	pu-u-du nu-ug lib-bi niši

At the end of line 2, I have adopted Prof. Sayce's restoration, "and he looked up," ippa[lis]. At the end of line 5 he seems to have restored ip[pal]:-"and the gods of heaven and earth as many as exist, and whoever (else there was), answered accordingly his command." In line 6, the character that follows su is uncertain; the traces have somewhat of the form of -II which, so far as the meaning is concerned, would be a possible restoration. In line 9, if we could restore [lubul]-ta before iškun, we might see a reference to the weeds of woe in which Adapa, following the advice of his father, presented himself before Anu; but the traces of the first character are more those of ma. The word šubara (l. 10) appears to be formed from the root šabaru according to the type cf. l. 13, "victoriously the wings of the South wind he broke" (išbiru). But the thread of the story has been broken with the tablet that preserved it, so that it is impossible to determine or to divine the exact sense here. If the form šubarû be also connected with šabâru, the phrase šakin šubarû Sippar Nipur Bâbilu (Sargon,* Cylinder, 1. 4), would find its natural explanation as a parallel to mušallimu hibiltisun in the same line. unahhu (l. 17) I refer to a root nahû, "to

^{*} Der einrichtete den Cultus (?) von S. N. und B. Peiser in Keilinschr. Bibl., ii., p. 41.

take away, remove"; cf. Heb. المحتالية, deduxit. simmu (l. 18) appears as the value of المحتالية in the vocabulary (K. 2061) published by Haupt, A.S.K.T., p. 203, col. ii, l. 19. It must therefore be equivilent in meaning to murşu. It is possible that the Arab. "to spoil, ruin," may throw some light upon the meaning of harbaşu (l. 19). hitum in l. 20, is perhaps the same word as the hitu which occurs in the following message of Sennacherib, Smith, p. 165), dûru u šalhu ša (âlu) Kalzi المحتالية agurri ušēpiš. Lastly, pūdu in l. 21 recalls the phrase pūda kima bišari (?) * 'abbat (W.A.I. IV, 22, 30a); but in the present state of our text isolated comparisons are of little value.

A connected rendering of a text so mutilated is out of the question; it is not even easy to see at what point it attaches itself to the thread of the story as we have it partially preserved in the Berlin fragment. One thing is certain, however, and that is that it deals with events subsequent to Adapa's assault upon the South Wind and his summons before Anu. The latter part of the text may possibly have contained a sort of proclamation by Anu of the terms of his reconciliation with Adapa. The sickness and disease with which mankind have apparently been visited, in consequence either of Adapa's offence or of his unwitting rejection of the boon of immortality, will be banished by Ninkarrak, who appears as an interesting accession to the dramatis personæ, and whom we find elsewhere described as "the great lady, the mighty one of all the gods who dwell in sanctuaries." †

For the general outline of the story it will be sufficient to refer to Harper's exhaustive essay in the Beiträge zur Assyriologie, II, 2, pp. 418-425. To the passages there cited in which the word a-da-pa (()) occurs in close parallelism with abkallu, a third may be added, viz., K. 2701a, l. 8: šarri bėl šarrâni libbi libbi ša abkalli u a-da-pa (()); that in the list of old mythological and religious books preserved in R^m 618 Adapa's name is spelt with ()-1111 and not with the list of old mythological and religious and not with the list of old mythological and religious books preserved in R^m 618 Adapa's name is spelt with ()-1111 and not with the list of old mythological and religious and not with the list of old mythological and religious books preserved in R^m 618 Adapa's name is spelt with ()-1111

^{*} Delitzsch (Woerterbuch, p. 72) reads the word kib (ri in accordance with its ideographic equivalent ().

[†] See Bezold, Catalogue, p. 779.

[‡] For the text see Hebraica, IX, Nos. 1 and 2.

I cannot accept Harper's conclusion (*l.c.*, p. 424) that the South Wind was represented as a bird. The mere fact that it is described as winged proves nothing, for it is perfectly possible that the wings may have gone with other features to make up a composite being like £a, or the divinities whom we find "disguised in brutish forms rather than human" in such tablets as K. 2148. * Lastly, although the legend of Adapa represents the South Wind as being under the special protection of Anu, we find it mentioned as the beloved of Adapa's father £a in the following incantation:—"Be present, O

* The following quotation of the least mutilated part of this text will give some idea of its style :—

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obv., l. 3. ap-par-ri-tu šakna-at (♥ દૂક્) laķ-ta-ša amêli
          šib-bu-ra rak-sa-at
          irat-sa pi-ta-a-at
          ina šumėli-ša šė-ir-ra na-šat-ma tuli-ša iķ-rib
          ina imni-ša i-kar-rab
          iš-tu kakkadi-ša ana šib-bu-ri-š
          pa-ag-ru (🎓) mê-ri-nu
          iš-tu šib-bu-ri-ša ana ka-an-tap-pi-ša
          ku-li-ip-tu kima sêri a-ta-at
          pa-pa-an libbi-ša a-gi-i i-ta-ad-du
          šum-ša (* ; ) > + CEI > EI šu-ut > + > EI
          kakkadu kakkad sêri
          ina ap-pi-šu bi-in-zu uz-zu-ru
          ina pî-šu mu-šam šu-gal-lu-lu-ni
           ki-ma ba-aš-mi ša-kin
          📉 🕊 【 a-na 🎹 【 un-ka-a-ti i-ta-ad-da-a
          [ap] (?)-par-ri-tu ina li-ti-šu ša-kin
          pag-ru Suhûru 🏋 kakkabi ma-li
          Zu-ub-ra-ši-na
rev., l. 1. ka-an-tap-pu ša ik-ba ul iša-a
          šum-šu (🖎 🚍) sa-as-su-u . . . . . in-nu
          la-ah-mi tamti , . . . . (ilu) Ê-a
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In the next paragraph we have a description (*u-tu-ti*) of Êrêš-ki-gal, which includes the following traits:—

uz-nu LU.ARAD laķ-tum amêli ina ki-la-tê-ša a-ka-la na-šat-ma ana pî-ša u-rib South Wind, beloved of £a! Be present, O North Wind, beloved of Sin! Be present, O East Wind, beloved of Anu! Be present, O West Wind, beloved of £a and Anu!"*

* K. 9875. The most important part of this text has been quoted by Bezold (Catalogue, iii, p. 1045), as follows:—

šiptu at-tu-nu nak-ru rêši-šu-ti ša hal-bu da-mi a-mê-lu-ti kakku ri-ig-ma na-ša-tu-nu a-na da-ki-ia ki-ša-ma iz-za-ni a-na ka-ša-di-ia ki-ma ušumgalli ta-alı-ta-na-za-a a-na na-ri-ia ki-ma al-lu-hap-pu ta-sah-ha-pa-nin-ni ki-ma a-li-î ta-šag-gu-ma êli-ia am-ra-nin-ni-ma li-ir-ma-a i-da-ku-nu lim-ha-aş muh-ha-ku-nu ► 🕇 🔀 (ilu) Iš-tar li-ša-an-ni tê-im-ku-nu ša ra-bu-u uz-na (ilu) Nêrgal bêl kakki kakki-ku-nu liš-bir (ilu) Rammân bêl šam-ê rabûti ag-giš êli-ku-nu lil-si Mi-lik-ku-nu lis-pu-uh (ilu) Illat bir-ki-ku-nu li-kas-si raš-pa-ni-ku-nu lišku-nu (🖤 🏻 🔫 🗡 tu-ra-nim-ma ša-ni-tam-ma sab-ta muh-ri šûtu na-ra-am-ti (ilu) Ê-a iltânu na-ra-am-ti (ilu) Sin mu-hur šâdû na-ra-am-mu (ilu) A-nim aliarru na-ra-am-mu (ilu) Ê-a u (ilu) A-nim



THE UNKNOWN ARAMAIC ORIGINAL OF THEODO-TION'S ADDITIONS TO THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

By Dr. Gaster.

I. Introduction.

It is an universally admitted fact, which no one acquainted with the Greek translations of the Bible will venture to contradict, that the real work of Theodotion consisted in correcting and altering the old Greek translation known as the LXX, in accordance with the Hebrew text. Not much has been preserved of that improved edition of the LXX made by Theodotion, but the fragments alone would suffice to show his absolute dependence upon the Hebrew original.

Much more clearly is this fact evidenced by the whole book of Daniel, which has come down to us entirely in Theodotion's version. The translation of the LXX must have deviated very much from the original, so much so as to induce the Church from very ancient times to eliminate it from the official service, and to substitute for it that other translation of Theodotion. (The LXX text has, as is well known, come to light in the last century, and has been often reprinted.) The differences extend also to the apocryphal additions, which are missing in our canon, at any rate in the Hebrew canon of the Scriptures. differences do not appear to be very great, but it is questionable whether Theodotion's text has not been altered after that of the LXX. Even in this form there are, however, marked differences which cannot be explained, unless we admit that Theodotion had a certain original before his eyes, exactly as was the case with the rest of the book. He corrected and amended the old translation, being guided by the language of that original. It would appear, otherwise, at least singular that he should have attempted a similar process of correction, if there was not such an original text to guide him. The presumption, à priori, is, therefore, that also for those portions which are now counted among the Apocrypha an original in a Semitic

dialect must have existed, and that this was used by Theodotion when he undertook to amend the LXX version.

I do not think that one can lay great stress on the suggestion thrown out by Lengerke,* that these apocryphal additions have been interpolated at a later time from the LXX into Theodotion, as this would lead to a far more complicated question, viz., how to explain these differences in those two texts.

First, as to the "Song of the Three Children." Many a scholar has thought that he could detect traces of such an ancient Semitic original in peculiarities of the language. De Wette-Schrader† has collected all these peculiarities of the Greek which would point to such an original. They can best be explained by comparing them with words or forms that may have been misunderstood by the translator, or by his being influenced by the forms of that language, which may have been an Aramaic dialect akin to that of Danieland yet does De Wette doubt the existence of such an original. Schuerer, who devotes a whole chapter to the study of these additions to Daniel, I sums up his judgment in these words: "There is no reason to believe in a Hebrew original for any of these texts." It is doubtful whether he meant a purely Hebrew or an original written in any Semitic dialect, since, properly speaking, one could say that there is no Hebrew original for the greater part of the Book of Daniel, as it contains so many chapters written in Aramaic. Much more decided is De Wette in his opinion about the origin of the other additions, such as the history of Bel and that of the Dragon. He, as well as Fritzsche, say that there is not the slightest foundation for the idea that there was a Hebrew, or, as the latter adds, an Aramaic original for these. The differences between Theodotion and the LXX are, however, much more pronounced in these other portions than in the Song, and, as far as I have been able to see, no theory has hitherto been vouchsafed by any of these scholars that could give a satisfactory explanation of these discrepancies. If they are not to be explained by a difference of translation, how, and for what reason should Theodotion have gone out of his way to alter the old-established version; and why

^{*} Das Buch Daniel; Königsberg, 1835, p. 108.

[†] Lehrbuch d. histor. Kritischen Einleitung, 8th ed.; Berlin, 1869, p. 509.

[‡] Geschichte des juedischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu, 2d ed., ii, pp. 716-720.

[§] Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen ; Leipzig, 1851, p. 121, § 12.

should the Church feel it proper to accept this latter, if not for their conviction that this way is a more faithful rendering of the original? Delitzcsh, in his study on Habakkuk,* has already drawn attention to a fragment of the Bel legend in an old Hebrew Midrash quoted by Raymundus Martini in the 13th century. The same has since been discovered by Dr. Neubauer in another fragment of the same Midrash Major, as that book is called. He has published this legend, together with the Aramaic version of the Book of Tobit.† The language of this text, however, is more like Syriac than Aramaic, and it differs in many important details from the old Greek versions. It can, therefore, not be considered as the probable original from which those translations have been made. They go, on the other hand, a long way to prove the existence of these legends in a Semitic dialect.

Another proof is furnished by the fact that all the additions to Daniel are found also in the Hebrew Josephus, better known as Josippon. We have there the throwing of Daniel into the den of the lions, and the prophet Habakkuk drawn by the lock of his hair from Palestine to feed him in that pit,‡ then the history of Bel,\$ and that of the Dragon. As will be seen afterwards, these portions were in the oldest known MS, of Josippon, and form part of that book; they are not later additions or interpolations, but belong to the body of that work. As the question concerning Josippon is still an open one, and its relation to the Greek Josephus not yet sufficiently cleared up, I prefer not to take this parallel as a proof for the antiquity of these texts. They suffice to prove, however, the existence of Semitic parallels to the apocryphal additions to Daniel. It will become evident later on that the version contained in Josippon, which has some details which are wanting in the Greek versions both of the LXX and Theodotion, is not taken from these versions, but in every probability from the original Semitic source which served as basis to these Greek translations.

It is dangerous to dogmatise, and to try to settle definitely questions which later discoveries may easily upset. Such is the case with these additions to Daniel, which, as shown, are declared

^{*} De Habacuci Prophetae vita, etc.; Leipzig, 1842, pp. 32, 33.

[†] The Book of Tobit; Oxford, 1878, pp. 41, 42.

[‡] Ed. Breithaupt, I, cap. x, xi, pp. 33-37.

^{§ 1}bid., cap. xiii, pp. 40-42.

^{||} Ibid., cap. xiv, pp. 42-45.

by all the recognized authorities to be of a purely Greek, probably Alexandrinian, origin, though it be extremely difficult to reconcile it with the fact that such texts were known in a Semitic language from ancient times.

I think now to have recovered that very original, the existence of which has hitherto been denied, on apparently insufficient grounds.

In the Chronicle of Jerahmeel, who lived somewhat about the 10th century, if not earlier, I have found an Aramaic text which is interesting from more than one point of view. The compiler of the Chronicle gives first a Hebrew translation of all those chapters in Daniel that are in Aramaic. Then follows a long rhymed introduction, after which the author says: "Now I am copying the missing praises and songs which praised and sang the three young men. which Theodosius found, and are not in the 24 (canonical) books. And this is the text (chapter) which Theodosius the wise man, who translated (the Bible) in the days of Commodus, the king of the Romans, introduced (arranged) in his Corpus (Canon)* It is not found in the book of the Hebrews but in that of the Seventy wise men, who translated the book of the Law together with Elazar the high priest, who was killed in the days of Antiochus (his bones may be ground to dust), who translated the whole Law in the days of Ptolomæus, king of Egypt; and the two men whose names were Symmachus and Akilas, who translated in the days of king Adrian, were translators (thereof) also. And Akilas is Onkelos."

"And this is the text of that which is not written in the Corpus (Canon) of the Hebrews and was found by Theodosius."

So far this remarkable introduction, which I have tried to render in a more intelligible form. The language is greatly involved and the meaning is not perfectly clear. But one point cannot be mistaken, viz., that the compiler wanted to convey the meaning that the text which he incorporated into his Chronicle was the one found or discovered by Theodosius. In order to understand fully the whole bearing of these few words, one must first settle the question as to who this great man Theodosius was, of whom Jerahmeel speaks with such a respect. I say that this *Todos* or Theodosius, as I

^{*} I draw special attention to the word \Box used here, as this seems to be the exact equivalent of $\kappa\dot{\alpha}\nu\rho\nu$, and furnishes the best explanation of this term. I am preparing a special study on this term.

[1894.

have translated this name, is no one else than *Theodotion*. It will at once be apparent why it is said that he *found* it. Bearing in mind the character of his work as a translator, that it consisted chiefly in adjusting the Greek text so as to reproduce the meaning of the Hebrew original more accurately, one can easily understand his anxiety to get hold also of the Hebrew or Aramaic originals of those portions which were not included in the Hebrew canon, but were to be found in the Greek of the LXX. Therefore it is said that he "found" this text, *i.e.*, he discovered the old original. A comparison between this Aramaic text and the Greek of Theodotion will soon convince us whether my conjecture is correct or not.

Before proceeding to this exegetical part, we have still to examine that introduction, which may yield some unexpected results. First again the name Todos and Theodosius. If this be identical with Theodotion, as I suggest, then this short notice will throw a flood of light on the history and biography of this otherwise very little known translator of the Bible. Hitherto all that was known is due to the short and not very clear notices of Irenæus, Hieronymus and Epiphanius, whose credibility has been doubted.* The only thing certain was that he must have lived before Irenæus (d. 202), i.e., before the close of the second century. He may also have been a Jewish proselyte. Hieronymus makes him out to have been an Ebionite or semi-christianus. According to Epiphanius (Irenæus) he came from Ephesus, was originally a Marcionite, embraced afterwards Judaism, studied Hebrew, and made his translation in the time of the emperor Commodus. That is almost all that is known hitherto about this man. There is nothing improbable in the idea that Theodotion may have been a proselyte. Most if not all the Greek translations owe their origin to proselytes: such were Akilas and Symmachus. They felt more keenly the inadequacy of the existing translations, and strove after another which should render the Hebrew original in the most faithful manner, in order to have, if it were possible, the Hebrew original in a Greek garb. To the Iews the Greek was almost a matter of indifference; not so to those to whom Greek was their natural language, and who had to acquire the knowledge of Hebrew afterwards in life by hard work. Only such a motive will explain the number of Greek translations. The same may have been the primary motive for Theodotion to

improve the older and not sufficiently literal translation of the LXX.*

From the comparative obscurity and uncertainty as to the date and personality of Theodotion in which we are left by the writers of the Church, he is lifted out by this attempted identification of Theodotion or Theodot (so in some MSS.) with Todos, the popular and shorter form of the same name.

Todos is a man well known in Talmudic literature. He is mentioned in both the Talmuds at least five or six times, and always as a rich man and in high position. He is a munificent supporter of the wise men, and assists them materially.† "He used to give to the people of Rome the passah-lamb prepared in a peculiar manner, in the same way almost as it used to be prepared in Jerusalem, so that it looked like the sacrificial lamb. The sages sent word to him saying: 'if thou wert not Todos, we would have excommunicated thee.'" t

In all these passages it is R. Jose, (second half of the second century) who mentions this fact. In one place only the name of the rabbi who sent that threat is given as that of R. Simeon b. Shetah, of the time of Jannai the Makkabæan king; but this name has crept in from the other incident mentioned a few lines higher on the same page, and is undoubtedly a mistake of the writer or printer. The parallel passage in the Jesusalem Talmud (Moed katan) proves it also to be a mistake. From this passage two things are evident: (1) that Todos wished to observe the commandment of the passah-lamb in the strictest possible manner, so strictly in fact that he almost brought down upon himself the censure and possibly the anathema of the authorities. If anything, this is the characteristic of the proselyte, who is more strict in the observance of the law than

^{*} Theodotion, or, as he is called in the same MSS., Theodot, stands probably for the Hebrew Jonathan. It is rather a peculiar coincidence that the Aramaic translation of the Prophets is ascribed to a Jonathan, who is identified in the Talmud with Jonathan, son of Uziel, pupil of Hillel. In a similar manner we have the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch ascribed to Onkelos, the counterpart of Akilas. I do not intend laying any stress on this peculiar coincidence, beyond pointing out the parallelism in the names of the Greek and Aramaic translators of the Bible. Nor do I wish it to be understood that I identify Jonathan the Targumist with Theodotion.

[†] Tr. Pesahim, fol. 53b, jer. Moed katan, III, § 1f, 81d.

[‡] L.c., v. Tr. Betzah, fol. 23a.

[§] Tr. Berachoth, fol. 19a.

the man born in it. In his anxiety to do what he considered to be a divine commandment, he almost went beyond the Law; and (2) that the rabbis must have had a very strong reason to wink at his zeal, and deal leniently with his transgression. The reason thereof is not given in the Talmud; it is said only that he was a munificent supporter of the rabbis. This would not have weighed very much with them; we are therefore bound to look in another direction for this leniency. If Theodotion was a proselyte, this would explain admirably why he was allowed to go out scot free. He did not know that it was not permitted to offer the passah-lamb outside Jerusalem. It was an error of judgment committed from the purest of motives, hence his immunity. If besides we take into consideration that by the new translation of the Bible he may have rendered a signal service to the community, we easily understand why he has been treated with such regard.* He is not to be confounded with Theodoros the doctor who is a contemporary of R. Akiba;† this seems to have been a man from Alexandria. I make this remark because Levy in his Talmudic dictionary brings both under the same name Todos, and translates this latter as Theodoros, which is not correct.

There is one more reference to Todos in the old Hebrew literature which leads us straight to the question from which we started in our investigation, viz., the relation between this Todos and the additions to the canonical book of Daniel.

In the name of Todos we find in the late Midrash to the Psalms‡ a peculiar Aggadic interpretation of the martyrdom of the Three Children. "According to Todos the three children compared themselves with the frogs which, according to the word of Scripture, entered also the furnaces of the Egyptians at the bidding of God, (Exod. vii, 28), but they were not hurt, as God protected them: the more reason for them to hope, who had also the merits of their forefathers to assist them, and had moreover the duty to sanctify the Name of God, and to suffer martyrdom for His sake."

This line of argument harmonises very well with the character of Theodotion as we have tried to sketch it; he was a zealous and devout proselyte. That he should have just chosen the three

^{*} Cf. also Jer. Betza, II, § 7, f. 61c; Toseftah Betza, II, § 15, p. 204, ed. Zuckermandel.

[†] Tr. Berachoth, fol. 28b, and Toseftah Oholoth, IV, § 2, p. 600, ed. Zuckermandel.

[‡] Ps. xxviii, v. 2, p. 229, ed. Buber.

children for the exponents of his views, corroborates the idea that he must have occupied himself more specially with these incidents recorded in the book of Daniel. There is in the whole of Hebrew literature, as far as I am aware of, no other reference to a biblical passage recorded in his name.

If we return now to the starting point of this inquiry, we shall find that Jerahmeel has preserved also the date when Theodotion lived. He places him under Commodus, and is thus in perfect agreement with the tradition of Epiphanius, who places him exactly under the same reign. Nor is this date contradicted by the quotations and references in the Talmudic literature. According to all these independent witnesses, Theodotion flourished during the second half of the second century after the common era.

The remaining portion of Jerahmeel's introduction is no less interesting. We have there so faint an echo of Aristeas' famous letter that it is scarcely recognisable. According to Jerahmeel, the Greek translation of the LXX dates from the first half of the second century before Christ, as he lets the High Priest Eleazar, who takes part in it, die in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes (circa. 170 B.C.). This may mean to signify the latest date when all the books of the Bible were translated, as Jes. Sirach (130 B.C.) alludes to the existence of that translation, whether in whole or parts is not perfectly clear. The time of Antiochus may be the terminus ad quem.

As far as Akilas and Symmachus are concerned, the date assigned to them by Jerahmeel—the time of Hadrian—seems to be perfectly correct, although some would like to place Symmachus after Theodotion.

From the preliminary matter we pass now to the text itself. We first study the language in which it is written. It is a remarkable fact that it is more like unto the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel than to that of the Targumim. The only difficulty we have to contend with in this connection is that we have only one copy, no other MS. being known to exist; the writing of this MS. is also not perfectly clear throughout. But in spite of these drawbacks the character of the text stands out clear enough, and we find in it all the peculiarities of the Biblical Aramaic.* On the other hand, it is very remote from the Syriac form of the fragment of the legend

^{*} Cf. Driver, "Introduction to the Old Testament," 3rd ed., pp. 471-473.

of the Dragon mentioned above. The lexicon is somewhat richer, as new words are to be found which do not occur in the Biblical texts, and these have the same archaic ring about them as the rest. Judging, therefore, only from the language, we would be justified in assigning a high antiquity to this Aramaic version of the Song of the Three Children, and of the legend of the Dragon, for both these have been preserved to us in the compilation of Jerahmeel.

If we proceed now to the comparison between the Aramaic text and the version of Theodotion, such as we can reconstruct it after the numberless interpolations, omissions and alterations it has been subjected to, we shall find an absolute identity extending to the most minute details. All those points brought out by Fritzsche in his exhaustive study of the Song of the Three Children—to commence with this-find their ample justification in our Aramaic text. the changes introduced by Theodotion correspond with the Aramaic text; all those passages proved to be later interpolations are missing from the Aramaic; the inversion of order to be observed, especially in the actual song in the Greek of Theodotion, has its counterpar in our Aramaic, and many a hazarded suggestion advanced by one or the other commentator-who sought to find in an Aramaic original the source and reason of misunderstandings-will be corroborated by our text. The confusion in the order of things enumerated in verses 28-50, varying in various MSS, and translations, disappears completely when compared with the order in the Aramaic text. Here we have, first God, then the heavenly bodies, then follow all the phenomena of the air, such as rain, dew, snow, frost, clouds, and so on; then land, sea and birds; lastly man. The minute commentary, which follows later on, is intended to bring out all these points. From such a minute study it will become evident beyond doubt or cavil, that we have in this Aramaic text the long-sought for, often denied, and now proved Semitic original of Theodotion's translation. I publish it (in Part II) exactly after the original MS., adding my corrections in brackets, and I subjoin to it an English translation, the differences between this and the current one* are as much marked as they are when comparing the Aramaic text with the Greek texts of Theodotion and the LXX. In the commentary I will point out the more important passages which seem to be conclusive.

^{*} Published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; London, 1881.

I pass now to the other portion containing the legend of the Dragon. As has already been remarked, this legend was found long ago in an ancient Midrash, but this differs so much from the Greek versions that it could not be the probable original of these latter. Not so, however, is the case with Jerahmeel's text, which follows immediately upon the Song. This corresponds exactly to the true text of Theodotion, and this absolute identity helps us to restore that very text, which as appears now, has been a little curtailed and made to fit better with that of the LXX. Here and there a few words are omitted in the Greek, and in one verse a very important detail is not to be found in the latter, which however must have been in the original, as we find it also in the parallel in Josippon. Both these texts contain a more detailed description of the ingredients which Daniel put into the lump of food for the dragon. Pitch, fat and hair alone would not kill a dragon such as that worshipped by the Babylonians, accustomed as it must have been according to legend to devour whole animals. In both texts Daniel used these merely as blinds, as "he rolled them round iron hatchets and made one big lump of it, which he threw into the mouth of the dragon. When the dragon had swallowed it, the fat and pitch melted away in the stomach, and the sharp points of the iron hatchets caused the dragon to linger and die." It is not likely that this should be a later interpolation, as we find it in two independent texts, also in the Midrash Rabba on Genesis lxviii, f. 77 c, d (ed. Fcft) ad Genes. xxviii, 12. I cannot find a satisfactory reason for the omission, unless in the desire of reducing the divinity of that dragon to a still smaller scale. The LXX have felt the incongruity between the things used by Daniel in the making up of that lump, and have added therefore that "the weight of the pitch used was very great, no less than 30 manehs," the cause of death was thus this great quantity.

With the assistance of the Aramaic version we shall get rid also of the remarkable bowl with bread, which reminds one of the Buddhist monks with their begging bowl. In the Aramaic, the prophet puts his bread in his sac, which he carries probably on his back, as he perforce must keep in his hands the pottage sod by him for the reapers. One can easily increase the number of such instances where our text gives a proper meaning, and shows its incontestable superiority over all the other versions, the Greek included. The language is the same as that of the other piece, the same gram-

matical forms and the same general character, distinct from Syriac and not absolutely identical with the Targumim.

In order to obviate a possible objection, viz., that Jerahmeel may have got hold of another version of Josippon and have transferred these two texts from it into his Chronicle, especially as the copyist added here a note, included by me in brackets, to the effect that "from here on Jerahmeel copied from Todos and the Jewish Josippon," it is necessary to point out that these very texts are to be found also in his extracts from Josippon, totally different from the Aramaic text, and corresponding entirely with the printed editions of that book. This alone suffices to prove the accuracy and faithfulness of Jerahmeel, who repeated the same texts twice, copying them from two different sources. It gives further credibility to the authorship of these Aramaic portions in his Chronicle, a credibility which they fully deserve, as it is borne out by the comparison between them and the Greek translation of Theodotion.

(To be continued.)

The next Meeting of the Society will be holden at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, 4th December, 1894, at 8 p.m.

- I. Dr. M. Gaster.—"Two Unknown Hebrew Versions of the Tobit Legend."
- II. THEO. G. PINCHES.—"The Lament of the Daughter of Sin."

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Society of Biblical Archæology.

COUNCIL, 1894.

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P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XVI. TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION.

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Ninth Meeting, December 4th, 1894.

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1894.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

I must again ask for the kind consideration of the Members. The January PROCEEDINGS will be issued with as little delay as possible.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held on the 5th of February, when the Rev. Dr. Löwy will read a Paper "On Pre-Mosaic Culture of the Hebrews."

W. H. RYLANDS.



PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1893-94.

Ninth Meeting, 4th December, 1894.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., PRESIDENT.

IN THE CHAIR.

The President referred to the loss the Society had recently suffered by the death of SIR CHARLES T. NEWTON, K.C.B., D.C.L., etc. (*Vice-President*), whose communications to the Society in former years were of great interest.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Secretary of State for India in Council:—The Sacred Books of the East.

Vol. XXXV. The Questions of King Milinda. Translated by T. W. Rhys Davids, Esq. 8vo. 1890.

[No. cxxv.]

Vol. XXXVI. The Questions of King Milinda. Translated by T. W. Rhys Davids, Esq. Part II. 8vo. 1894.

Vol. XLIX. Buddhist Mahâyâna Sûtras. Translated by E. B. Cowell, F. Max Müller, and J. Takakusu. 8vo. 1894.

From Miss Gonino:—History of Art in Primitive Greece; from the French of Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez. London. 8vo. 1894. Vols. I and II.

From the Author:—Prof. Dr. Fritz Hommel. Sumerische Lesestücke. Schrifttafel, Trilingue Listen, Syllabare, Paradigmen, Bilingue Texte mit analyse, Kurze Grammatik. Folio. München. 1894.

From the Author:—Dr. A. Wiedemann. Le roi dans l'ancienne Égypte.

Inschrift Ramses III zu Karnak. 8vo. Bonn. 1894.

From the Author:—Rev. C. A. de Cara, S.J. Gli Hethei-Pelasgi:—Ricerche di Storia e di Archeologia orientale, Greca ed Italica. Vol. I. Roma. 8vo. 1894.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting, 6th November, 1894, and elected Members of the Society:—

Mrs. Cathcart, Pitcaislie, near Newburgh, Fifeshire. Edward Donaldson, Caius College, Cambridge.

C. Fox, M.R.C.S., F.S.P., Lodge Hill, Kingswood, near Bristol.

Dr. Hermann Haupt, Giessen University.

George Francis Legge, 6, Gray's Inn Square, W.C.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting, to be held on the 8th January, 1895:—
Mrs. Garnet Botfield, c/o Major Garnet Botfield, R.A., Hong Kong.

A Paper was read by the Rev. Dr. Gaster on "Two unknown Hebrew Versions of the Tobit Legend."

Remarks were added by Dr. Löwy, Rev. R. Gwynne, and Dr. Friedlander.

A Paper was read by Theo. G. Pinches on "The Lament of the Daughter of Sin."

Remarks were added by Dr. Gaster and Dr. Löwy.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

CHAPTER CVIII.

Chapter whereby one knoweth the Powers of the West.

In respect of the Hill of Bachau (1) upon which heaven resteth, it presenteth itself (2) three hundred cubits in length (3) and two hundred cubits in breadth.

Sebak, the Lord of Bachau, is at the east of the Hill, and his temple is upon it.

There is a serpent on the brow of that hill, five hundred cubits in length, three cubits of his forepart are pierced with swords.

I know the name of this serpent on his hill: "He who dwelleth in his own flame" is his name. (4)

Now, at the close of day (5) he turneth down his eyes to $R\bar{a}$; for there cometh a standing still in the Bark and a deep slumber within the ship. And now he swalloweth three cubits of the Great Water.

Then Sutu is made to flee with a chain upon him of steel (6) and he is forced to vomit all that he hath swallowed. Then Sutu is put into his prison.

And then he saith with Words of Power:-

Away with thee! Steel, which art made fast upon my hand. I remain in thy prison, the Bark sails on and thou seest the path; but thine eyes close, [thine eye is delivered to me], thy head is veiled, (7) and I go on and stay thy steps.

I am the Manful one, who veileth thy head and who cooleth the hollow of thy hand: thy strength is my strength.

I am the Master of the Words of Power.

Who is this who hath been delivered to me?

This Bright One, who cometh on his belly, on his hind parts and on the joints of his back.

Lo! then, I come, and thy might is in my hand. It is I who carry away thy might, that I may come and seize upon the Tunnels of Rā who is united to me at sunset as he goeth round heaven. (8)

But thou art pierced with hooks, as was decreed against thee of old.

I know the powers of the West, they are Tmu, Sebak the Lord of Bachau, and Hathor, Mistress of Sunset.

NOTES.

The chapters 108, 109, 112, 113, and 114 being so analogous to each other, in form, matter, style, and composition, and each being concerned with the divine *Powers* of some locality, it is interesting to know that one at least of these chapters is found on a monument of the Middle Empire. The others are probably not less ancient, and the text published by Dr. Golenischef (*Zeitschr. f. Aegypt. Spr.*, 1874, p. 84) from the Sarcophagus at St. Petersburg already bears manifest signs of antiquity.

Another sign of antiquity as regards the present chapter may be seen in the numerous forms in which it has come down to us. These are so different, and sometimes so irreconcileable, that it seems evident that tradition has handed down very corrupt texts, and that the original meaning of this chapter had been entirely lost at a very early date and cannot be discovered now. The oldest text is the shortest of all, but it is both imperfect and incorrect. The earliest papyri differ greatly from the later ones. But both the earlier and the later papyri have the 149th chapter which contains another recension of the 108th, and chapter 111 in the Turin and later papyri is another form of it.

n. The Hill of Bachau. has for determinative the sign which connects the word with the Coptic Rozzi 'eyelids.' In the later texts the word has for determinative either a woman or a cow in the act of parturition, as if it were connected with has another name of the Dawn is identified.

- 3. The oldest text (which is here the best authority) does not give the dimensions of the hill, but only of the serpent. The earliest papyri give the dimensions of both, but make the hill so absurdly small that the serpent could not rest upon it. Later papyri beginning with Pf have corrected the texts so as to give the hill a length of 300 cubits, or (each of which is 100 cubits long). They omit the statement that the cubit in question is of $7\frac{1}{2}$ palms (the Royal cubit being of 7 palms), and also the interesting mention of the relation of this 'balance' to the rest of the sentence is not clear, because the MSS. differ as to the preposition which precedes.

The Papyrus of Nebseni gives the hill 300 cubits in breadth. The *Todtenbuch* of Turin reads 370 in length, and 140 cubits in breadth.

4. The serpent's name is not mentioned in chapter 111, nor is it in the earliest text. But in chapter 149 the usual name is in the Papyrus of Nebseni. The determinative commonly attached to the name of Âpepi, expresses the meaning 'sword smitten,' 'shot with swords,' ξφόκτονος. We might otherwise have understood the term in the sense of ξιφοκτόνος, 'slayer with swords.' The Papyrus of Sutimes Pd calls the serpent 's knife-wounded.'

The proper name , also written , also written , Māṭes, an epithet of Âpepi, or of Sutu, also means "pierced with swords." But the expression itself seems sometimes to be found in the active sense, "piercing like a sword."

5. Close of Day, when daylight has come to 'a stand' . This is the reading of the papyri. The oldest reading is 'at the time of sunset.'

- 6. The earliest text says nothing of this, though it mentions the "prison of Sutech," in a passage corresponding to what the papyri include in the 'Words of Power' which follow. The Turin Todtenbuch says that, "Sutu is put into his prison, and that a chain of steel is put upon his neck." Pictures of the serpent with the chain upon him will be found in Bonomi, Sarcoph., plates 10 and 11.* There is an evident fusion in this chapter, in its later form at least, as in chapter 39, of the personages of Sutu and Apepi.
- 7. Thy head is veiled. The 'veiling of the head,' and 'closing of the eyes' of the sun are of course mythological terms for night time. But the mythological event was celebrated on the festival
- 8. Chapter III stops at the word "Sunset." And after this, the text in chapter 149 changes the third to the first person, and reads: "But I go round the heaven whilst thou art pierced with hooks," as if Rā were replying to the words of Sutu. This, I confess, appears to me to offer a better sense than that of chapter 108. And I should now alter the word "stabber" in the first line of chapter 39 to "pierced with hooks."

CHAPTER CIX.

Chapter whereby one knoweth the Powers of the East.

I know that Eastern Gate of Heaven (the South of it is by the lake of Cha-ru, and the north of it by the stream of Reu), from whence Rā saileth with favouring gales. (1)

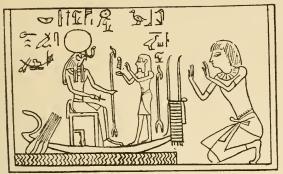
I am the Teller (2) in the divine ship: I am the unresting navigator in the Bark of Rā.

I know those two Sycomores of Emerald between which Rā cometh forth, as he advanceth over what Shu hath lifted up,† to every gate (3) through which he proceedeth.

^{*} On this picture (plate 11) may also be seen an interesting illustration of chapter 39; the scorpion goddess putting the chain upon Âpepi, in front of whom are the divinities to execute, with swords and hooks, the decree passed against him. The children of Horus are also seen occupied in the execution.

[†] I.e., the Sky.

BOOK OF THE DEAD.



Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9,900.

CHAPTER XCVII.



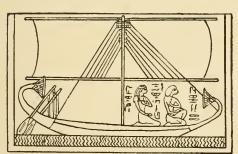
CHAPTER CIII. Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9,900.



CHAPTER XCVIII. LEPSIUS, Todtenbuch.



CHAPTER CIV. Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9,900.



CHAPTER XCIX. Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9,900.



CHAPTER CV. Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9,900.



CHAPTER CV. Papyrus of Sutimes, Bibl. Nat.



CHAPTER CVIII. Papyrus, British Museum, No. 9,900.



I know the Garden of Aarru: the wall of it is of steel. The wheat of it is of 7 cubits, the ears of it of 2 cubits, the stalk of it of 4 cubits. The barley of it is of 7 cubits, and the ears are of 4 cubits, and the stalk of 3 cubits.

It is the glorified ones, each of whom is 9 cubits in height, who reap them, in presence of the Powers of the East.

I know the Powers of the East: Horus of the Solar Mount, the Calf in presence of the God, (4) and the Star of Dawn.

A divine Domain (5) hath been constructed for me; I know the name of it; the name of it is the garden of Aarru.

Notes.

Another recension of this chapter has been incorporated into chapter 149. The differences lie chiefly in the order assigned to each of the component sentences.

- 1. Favouring gales "κμενος οῦρος, venti secundi, trade winds, tail wind, stern wind. There is not the faintest authority from the older papyri (which are very numerous, and remarkably unanimous on this point) in favour of the determinative , of the Turin Todtenbuch, which gives the sense of violent or tempestuous winds.
- 3. Every gate. "Rā at his rising is adored by the Powers of the "East. They it is who effect the rising of Rā, by opening the door "at each of the four portals of the Eastern horizon of heaven." (Inscr. in tomb of Rameses VI, Champollion, Notices, Tom. II, p. 640).
- 4. The Calf in presence of the god. The Calf is seen in the vignettes of this chapter and also of chapter 1. Brugsch (Rev. Egypt, I, p. 38) quotes texts showing that the Milch-cow Hor-sechauit, is the mother of the Sun-god, and that the infant god is the calf to whom she gives birth. The words "in presence of the god" are probably corrupt, but the variants are apparently worse. The Morning Star was equally identified with Horus.

5. The divine Domain. See M. Maspero's important article "Sur le sens des mots Nouit et Hait," in P.S.B.A., XII, p. 235-257.

"Nouit sert à désigner un domaine rural d'étendue plus ou moins considérable, portant ou ne portant pas de village ou de maison d'habitation Il était une personne réelle, formant un corps complet en soi, et c'est pour cela qu'on le représente sous la forme d'un homme ou d'une femme apportant des produits agricoles et des offrandes."

AN EGYPTIAN INSCRIPTION FROM PHŒNICIA.

By W. MAX MÜLLER.

A good many monuments of Egyptian workmanship, sculptures, and inscriptions, have been discovered in Palestine and Phœnicia, but almost all of them betray by their hieroglyphic inscriptions that they were made for some necropolis on Egyptian soil, and that they have come to the coasts of Asia only by accident, carried away to serve as unintelligible ornament.* The graffito with the name of Ramses II, east of the Jordan (the so-called stone of Job, Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereines, 92, 205, Ä.Z., 93, 100), the fragment of Arvad (Renan, Mission en Phénicie, 28; cf. my book, Asien und Europa, p. 274), and the stela of Ramses II, near Byblos (L.D., III, 197c), have been, so far, the only Egyptian inscriptions engraved in Syria and for Syria. Now, Mr. Griffith has, Proceedings, XVI, 91, added a new monument of this kind. It possesses the unique interest of containing a valuable geographic allusion.

Mr. Griffith has observed with wont acuteness that the king represented on it was Necho. The first line refers to the titles of god Horus: $\int_{0}^{\infty} \int_{0}^{\infty} \int_{0}$

^{*} Also the statue from Tyrus recently discovered ($\ddot{A}.Z.$, 93, 102) seems to belong to this category.

some emendations in the first signs, apparently corrupted by the sculptor. Also the last six signs are slightly corrupted, read with kup-ny, "the Byblian." This is an awkwardly modernized form of the old kup-ni (Pap. Ebers. 58, 16; 63, 8, etc.), i.e., Byblos * (Gubl). The most plausible rendering of the passage is that a man is mentioned, apparently the dedicator of the monument, bearing the long name: with "sacred eye of Horus of Byblos."† Most likely, this name is Egyptianized only in order to fit into the style of this inscription, and has a Phænician prototype which may have been rather different. The important result is that in Egyptianizing style one of the chief gods of Byblos, apparently the sun-god Baal, was identified with the Egyptian god Horus, the young sun.

We must suppose the temple of Horus-Baal, or the necropolis of Byblos, to have been the place where this monument was erected. But it is not impossible to think of the neighbouring Sidon where, according to Mr. Griffith, the fragment has been found.

* Identification proposed first by Chabas, see *Asien und Europa*, p. 188 following, especially 190, where the frequent form instead of sexplained.

† It is improbable to take Kupny not as a part of the name, but as an epitheton of that Phoenician dedicator, "the man from Byblos." One would be omitted. The y is hardly the grammatical ending of the "nisbe" $(\tilde{S}_{z}, \tilde{S}_{z})$. It stands for the old silent letter \tilde{S}_{z} .



TARSHISH-PHŒNICIA OR TARSUS?

By William F. Ainsworth, Ph.D., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

It is with the utmost reluctance that I venture to differ with so learned and erudite a person as Mr. P. le P. Renouf—our worthy President—in his attempt to identify Tarshish with Phœnicia.

The place, or territory, so called after the great grandson of Noah, "The sons of Javan, Elishah and Tarshish" (Gen. x, 4; I Chron. i, 7), but in the New Testament written as Tarsus or Tarsis, was, from the mountain forests of Taurus, Amanus, Rhosus and Casius, by which it is surrounded, the source, not only of mineral wealth, but of the material from which the ships of the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean and of the Red Sea was derived from the most remote times,* and hence "The ships of Tarshish" became a common appellation for vessels of trade, and "to go to Tarshish," a proverbial expression for setting out to sea in ships built of wood derived from that place. A remarkable instance of this occurs in 2 Chron. xx, 36, where it is recorded that Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, joined himself with Ahaziah, king of Israel, to make ships to go to Tarshish; and they made the ships in Ezion-geber-that is, on the Elanitic Gulf, or the eastern arm of the Red Sea. It is obvious, that as the Suez Canal did not exist at that epoch, that the navigation of the Red Sea was meant, for vessels constructed at Ezion-geber could neither sail to Phœnicia, nor to Cilicia. We find the correction in 1 Kings, xxii, 49, where the said ships are described as "ships of Tarshish," that is, built of wood from Tarshish.

^{*} See Lares and Penates, or Cilicia and its Governors, p. 12. Ingram Cooke & Co., London, 1853.

A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition, Vol. I, p. 139. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., London, 1888.

Researches in Assyria, &c., pp. 303, 313, 326. John W. Parker, London, 1838.

"That ships of 'Tartessus' should be built on the Elanitic gulph," says Mr. Renouf, "or, that ships should be built there for the purpose of going to Tartessus, are absurdities too gross to be admitted, but in order to avoid them one has had recourse to the gratuitous supposition that because the ships going to Tartessus must have been *great* ships, therefore all great ships were called by the Hebrews "Ships of Tartessus," though they never came from or were meant to go in that direction." If instead of Tartessus, the respected writer had said "Tarshish" or "Tarsus," whence the timber for their construction was derived, and whence their designation, "ships of Tarshish," there would have been no absurdity attached to the expression "ships of Tarshish," whether given to vessels built in the Mediterranean or in the Red Sea. There exists a singular scarcity of wood along the coast, even on the mountains, of Palestine, Phœnicia and Syria. It is not till we come to Casius—the boundary of ancient Phonike,—that timber becomes plentiful. This scarcity of wood, especially in Egypt, led to wars between the Ptolemies and the Antiochidæ, the former seeking to strengthen their navy with wood derived from Tarsus. This appears to have been the case even in earlier times, as the place is noticed under the name of Tursis or Toursis on a monument recording the victories of Rhamses III. The same thing has occurred even in the writer's times, when all Ibrahim Pasha's ambition, after reducing Syria, was to push forward to Cilicia, in order to procure wood for the Egyptian fleet, and most recklessly did he ravage the mountain forests.

Our respected President appears to have been mainly occupied in disproving the identity of Tarshish and Tartessus, and most of his Scripture quotations go to prove this, but do not apply to Tarsus. He makes capital out of the history of the prophet Jonah, which he says is always quoted as a proof that Tarshish was accessible by a ship starting from Joppa. "Such ships as the prophet found there," he says, "were more likely to arrive safely on the Phœnician coast than to reach the Straits of Gibraltar, and face the waters of the Atlantic. What could a ship from Joppa have to do with Tartessus?" So we say also, but a ship from Joppa could have reached Tarsus almost as readily, and quite as safely, as Phœnicia.

It is unnecessary to enter here upon the disputed question as to the site of Tartessus, or the still more objectionable doubts emitted as to whether such a place ever existed. Mr. P. le P. Renouf has discussed the question at length. Suffice it that the majority of testimonies are in favour of the existence of such a port on the coast of Spain, founded and named after the mother port—a daughter of Tarsus—as it has been called, and established as a harbour or emporium of commerce by the most enterprising of early navigators, more especially in bringing the tin of the Cassiterides to the nations of the East.*

Phœnike, afterwards Phœnicia, the Land of Palms of the Greeks, constitutes a mere long and extremely narrow line of seashore, at the foot of hills which tower above it every where, and hence it appears to have been simply known to the Hebrews as the land of Tyre and of Zidon or Sidon. Professor George Rawlinson, who has related the history of "Phœnicia" in the work so called, in Fisher Unwin's "Story of the Nations," in as far as its successive occupation by descendants of Hamitic and Semitic races is concerned, makes no mention of a name previous to that of Phœnike.†

The circumstance of the forests of Cilicia having furnished the first and chief means of building ships in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, and this circumstance having led to the ships of Tarshish, becoming a common appellation for all vessels of trade, and especially of ships trading from Phenicia, and "to go to Tarshish," having become a proverbial expression for setting out to sea in such vessels, has led to all the confusion and discrepancies of opinion that have sprung up, as also to the difficulty of reading the meaning of some scriptural references correctly. Mr. Renouf's attempt to identify Tarshish with Phenicia is a remarkable example of this fact.

Fürst, who gives a list of Tarshishes, comprising Tartessus on the Guadalquiver (Wady el Kebir, or the Great River), Carthage, a South Arabian Tarshish, and others—with the several passages in Scripture on which the existence of such emporiums are founded—

- * Grote is described by Mr. P. le P. Renouf as writing "entirely without authority," when he says that Colacus found himself "an unexpected visitor among the Phœnicians and Iberians of Tartessus," and that "the secret of Phœnician commerce at Tartessus first became known to the Greeks." Whatever his authorities, the historian of Grezce, held by the facts of the case.
- † The learned professor has been led into error in saying that the rocks whereof Casius is composed are of igneous origin (p. 15). The mountain is a solid mass of limestone, and I had much difficulty in finding the upheaving rocks, in this case euphotides and diallage rocks, which I succeeded in doing at the very bottom of the deep valley that intervenes between Casius and a westerly mountain. Researches in Assyria, etc., Parker, 1838 p. 303, et seq.

makes no mention of a Phœnician Tarshish. The confusion is readily understood when we find, that, owing to the vague employment of the term, large ships for long sea voyages were called "ships of Tarshish" (Is. ii, 16; xx, 3; i, 14), and most of the ancient versions translate the phrase "ships of Tarshish" in accordance with this last-mentioned explanation.*

The fabulous explanations of the word Tarsus, from Pegasus having first touched the ground at that place, and of its being founded by Perseus, Triptolemus, or Sardanapalus, are given in Cellarius's *Not. Orbis. Antiq.*, Vol. I, p. 214, &c. It is much easier to believe the name to be a corruption or abbreviation of 'Tarshish, just as the Armenian Arch-episcopate of "Sis," is also an abreviation of Tarsus, or Tarsis, as it is written by St. Jerome (Hieronymus).

Josephus identifies Tarshish with Tarsus, and he is followed by many later Jewish and Christian authorities; yet Mr. Renouf is at once indignant and grieved at the fact that Bochart and Ewald should have followed in the footsteps of the noble and early vindicator of the Christian faith. "The truth is," he remarks, "that in the days of Bochart and down to the days of even Winer, Gesenius, and Grote, the most learned scholars had no conception of the amount of historical and geographical information, which was hidden from them, and has only been gradually discovered to the world during the last forty or fifty years."

Very true, but it is also possible to err, in dismissing all that antiquity has transmitted to us, and replacing such, by what at the best is merely conjectural.†

- * King Solomon is spoken of in I Kings x, 22, as having at sea, a navy of Tharshish, with (or independent of), the navy of Hiram, king of Tyre; and, in 2 Chron. ix, 21, the king's ships are described as going to Tarshish with the servants of Huram (Hiram). The after statement, that every three years once came the ships of Tarshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory and apes, and peacocks, can only apply to ships trading in the Red Sea, most probably with Ophir.
- † The question of the Ecbatanas, augmented by modern research from one or two, to five or six; or of the Carchemishes traced to Kirki or Karkisha, to Karki or Kargamus, and even to Europus, are trifles compared to the multiplication of Tarshishes.

The origin of these reduplications of names, can however be easily explained by modern research, and as to the strongholds of the Kheta, Hâtti, Hittites, or North Syrians, it is probable that the term Carchemish, applied to a country or district, as well as to a city or cities. It is also much more likely that "Cilicia" before being so called, was known by the territorial name of Tarshish, than that that name ever belonged to Phœnicia.

It is well known, especially by sad experience in the Gulf of Issus, that the east winds coming down in gusts from the mountains, are replete with danger. "Thou breakest the ships of Tarshish with an east wind," says the Psalmist, xxvii, 26. So also Ezekiel xxvii, 26, says, "Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters; the east wind hath broken thee in the midst of the seas." Mr. Renouf assumes that the Psalmist here identifies Tyre and Tarshish, when he merely identifies the effects of the east winds upon each. The difference between the two is still more strongly expressed in the "Burden of Tyre," in Isaiah xxiii, of which prophecy Mr. Renouf says "it is perfectly intelligible and clear if by Tarshish we under stand Phænicia; it is absolutely without sense if Tartessus is thought of." Quite correct, if Tartessus had been intended, but not so, if Tarsus was meant.

As Jonah, to avoid the duty imposed upon him to go and prophesy against Nineveh, fled to Tarsus, so also the Tyrians were to flee to the same place. The transit of the Phænicians from Cyprus 10 Tarsus was easy, and when "ye inhabitants of the isle," were bidden to pass over to Tarshish, it seems doubtful if Palaityros or Cyprus was meant. Mr. Renouf admits that Tarshish is mentioned more than once in connection with the isle or isles. "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents," writes the Psalmist, lxxii, 10. "What islands?" exclaims Mr. Renouf—his thoughts ever bent upon Tartessus—"islands in the Atlantic?" Certainly not, but the islands nigh to Tarsus. In the "Burden of Tyre," it is "howlye inhabitants of the isle," not isles, and the allusion here would rather appear to bear reference to Cyprus than to the islets off the coast of Phœnicia, of which, Aradus or Arvad (Palai-tyros), was the only one of any importance. Tyre, "the daughter of Tarshish," is told to pass over to Tarshish (an order inconsistent with Tarshish and Phœnicia being identical), and "to pass through the land as a river," in allusion possibly to the river of Tarshish—the Cydnus of historic and poetic fame. The strength of Tyre lay in her ships, and hence was she called "the daughter of Tarshish," since her ships came from thence. "Howl, ye ships of Tarshish, for your strength is laid waste." The ships of Tarshish are also called upon to wail for the ruin of Tyre, which was their strength, as they in return were its strength, and hence were the inhabitants of the isle-it matters not whether of Palai-tyros or of Cyprus—told to pass over to Tarshish, not to the Phœnician coast,

but to the place whence they derived their ships and their strength. Tarshish, Mr. Renouf himself admits, "is always mentioned in connection with ships or commerce," not in connection with the territory on which Tyre and Sidon stood. It was not the "ships of Tartessus," that were told to howl because their strength was laid waste, but the "ships of Tarshish." So also the siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser, could oblige the inhabitants to fly to Tarsus, but not to Tartessus, still less "compel the population of Tartessus to overflow its land in flight."

In the prophecy of Ezekiel (chapter xxvii), the ship boards of Tyrian vessels are described as derived from the fir-trees of Senir (Hermon), the masts from the cedars of Lebanon, the oars from the oaks of Bashan, and the benches of ivory are said to have been brought from the isles of Chittim (Cyprus?). It is evident from this that the smaller vessels or galleys, were at times constructed from the sparse materials to be obtained, independent of the sources before alluded to; but the great ships destined for long voyages, as to the Cassiterides, Tartessus, the coast of Africa and Ophir, were all "ships of Tarshish." Tarshish is also here mentioned as the "merchant of Tyre," by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver,* iron, tin and lead they traded in thy fairs." This is at once explained by assuming that the ships of Tarshish brought the produce of remoter lands to their own port, whence they traded with Tyre and this is corroborated in verse 25 of the same chapter, when after a long and interesting enumeration of nations, and of the cities trading with Tyre, it is said: "The ships of Tarshish" (not the ships of Tyre), "did sing of thee in thy market; and thou wast replenished, and made very glorious in the midst of the seas." Here also (verse 35) "the isles" are made mention of, not as of the islets off the coast of Phœnicia, but as the isles of the Mediterranean, having their own kings!

Mr. Renouf reads this remarkable and geographically important chapter, as that "Tarshish is Phœnicia, and that the 'merchant'

^{*} Jeremiah (x, 9) says that silver spread into plates was brought from Tarshish. In the time of the writer, Ibrahim Pasha had engaged an Italian to re-open two well-known ancient silver (argentiferous galena) mines, at the Kulak Boghaz, or Gates of Cilicia, in Taurus; but when we visited them, all efforts had been vain, for want of means and material. There were plenty of evidences, however, of extensive works having been carried on in former times. (Pers. Narr. of the Eupl. Exp., Vol. I, p. 149.)

of Tyre includes all the kingdoms and cities of its coasts." It is impossible not to feel from the manner in which Tarshish is mentioned in connection with Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and other peoples, as trading with Tyre, that it cannot by any stretch of latitude in reading be made to pose as "the merchant of Tyre," including all the kingdoms and cities of its coasts. It is distinctly spoken of as one among other peoples, a merchant of Tyre, and as trading in its fairs. "They traded in thy fairs," are the simple and concise words in Ezekiel xxvii, 12.

Finally, Mr. Renouf looks upon the passage in Psalm lxxii, 10, "The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents," as a reminiscence of Jeremiah xxv, 22, "All the kings of Tyre, and all the kings of Zidon, and the kings of the isles which are by the sea-side." The latter may possibly allude to the isles on the coast of Phœnicia; but the first quite as unquestionably refers to the kings of Tarsus and of the neighbouring isles, of which Cyprus was the chief.*

There are in reality no tangible proofs of the Phœnike, or Phœnicia, of the Greeks, ever having been called Tarshish, or Tharshish. The identification of the lands or territories enumerated in Ezekiel (chapter xxvii), lend no countenance to such an assumption. Nor is such an identification corroborated by any authority, scriptural or profane, historical or geographical, legendary or monumental. On the other hand, many authorities, as more especially Josephus, have identified Tarshish with Tarsus or Tarsis; and all the circumstances of the case—the forests whence the ships of Tarshish were constructed, the minerals which abound in the adjacent mountain ranges, and the ever-enduring commerce and civilising importance of the city, if not perfectly convincing, attach all the possibilities of circumstantial evidence to the identification.

* Tyre is also spoken of *separately* as a merchant of the people for many *isles* (Ezekiel xxvii, 3).



REMARKS.

My venerable critic (may be long continue to take interest in our *Proceedings*) is quite right in assuming that my paper was 'mainly occupied in disproving the identity of Tarshish and Tartessus,' and he adds, "most of his scripture quotations go to prove this, but do not apply to Tarsus." I certainly had no intention of arguing against Tarsus, because I thought scholars had already seen a sufficiently peremptory reason for putting aside this hypothesis.

The identification of Tarshish with Tarsus is held to be philologically untenable.

The second s in Tarsus is not a radical like the w in Tarshish, but the mere Greek termination of the nominative case. The Semitic form of the name is Ta, whether in Phenician coins or in an Assyrian inscription of Shalmaneser II. And if the name be a Semitic one it has a different meaning (firmness) from that of Tarshish (breakage).

When Mr. Ainsworth says that "many authorities have identified Tarshish with Tarsus," I fear that I may have given occasion to this mistake by speaking of "some later Jewish and Christian authorities." The word authorities is wrongly used. Not one of the authors I meant could on this subject have had any information which we do not possess. Long before the time of Josephus all authentic knowledge about it had perished.

If (per impossible) the philological difficulty could be got over, we should still require historical evidence showing that previous to its Greek period the commerce of Tarsus (which was not a seaport) was at all remarkable. History knows nothing whatever of the "ever-enduring commerce and civilising importance of the city." Nor will either history or biblical exegetics be satisfied with the statement that Tyre was called "the daughter of Tarshish" (= Tarsus) "since her ships came from thence," until some evidence is given that such really was the case.

P. le P. Renouf.

NAMES OF PLANTS AND THINGS MADE THEREFROM IN BABYLONIA.

By Theo. G. Pinches.

The following is from a Babylonian Tablet of unbaked clay, apparently, from the style of the writing, of a comparatively late date. It is inscribed with a list of plants, etc., of the nature of reeds, and is of interest, because many of the words seem to be new.

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REVERSE.

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Transcription of the Obverse.

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Transcription of the Reverse.

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15.											do(?) 16

OBVERSÉ.

The first word (line 1), may be completed *mussulu* or *nussulu*. Saltu^m and hipû do not occur in Brünnow's "Classified list." They seem to be synonyms, and the latter probably comes from hepû "to destroy." For saltu^m, cf. the Heb. 50.

Litû, also, does not occur under the heading **A in Brünnow's list, but the principal character of the Akkadian column, **[()], dar, is given by him (No. 3487) with that meaning (also litu, perhaps another form of the same word). Hašlu (line 7), seems to mean "flail" (hašālu ša šeim, "to beat, of corn").

Diku, which translates the Akkadian gi-al-gaz(z)a (root gaza) "to kill," "smite," apparently indicates a kind of scourge. It translates three Akkadian words, the last of which is the same as that of the next line.

Kanû šuruptum, "cane of burning," apparently means "torch," as do also the five words immediately following (the third, gibillū, in line 12, is borrowed from the Akkadian). Tipari, however, is the usual word for "torch." Gigû is doubtful both as to form and meaning.

REVERSE.

Line r has "the cane of the spirit," but what that refers to is doubtful. The presence of the character → in the Akkadian column implies that it is of the same nature as the two following.

Edanū and kanû šinnanu both translate the Akk. gi-ašdua, "cane-one-making," perhaps a plant with a single stalk of seed. Edanū is probably connected with êdanu or êdenu, "solitariness," from êdu, "one." Ķanu šinnanu is probably further descriptive, "the toothed cane," from šinnu, "tooth."

Kûru is given as the Semitic equivalent of gi-kalumma, "the cane of fruit," and gi-kur,* "the cane of the enclosure." It seems also to have been classed with plants having the prefix \(\sigma\)(\sigma\)(herb), the same group, with that prefix, being rendered in Assyrian as kur sipta-* and epitātu. It will be noted that from line 7 (or earlier) of the obverse to line 5 of the reverse the character \(\sigma\) "ditto," precedes \(\sigma\)(\sigma\), implying that the plants there enumerated were all of the same nature.

The next four lines give the various parts of a "reed," or plant of that nature, the "root" (îšdi ķanê), the "heart" (libbi ķanê), the ubtum (or artum), and the ķulultum.

After the division-line we seem to have another portion mentioned, the dupi kanê, a synonym of which is gurru, a word which seems to be from the Akkadian, and which translates three words in that language. Dupi, however, may also be read kuppi, in which case it would probably be the same word as $\text{E} \leftarrow \langle kup\hat{u}, \text{ which is also one} \rangle$ of the meanings of $\text{E} \leftarrow \langle kup\hat{u}, \text{ which is also one} \rangle$

* * , kur, seems to be the gloss of .



THE UNKNOWN ARAMAIC ORIGINAL OF THEODO-TION'S ADDITIONS TO THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

By Dr. Gaster.

(Continued from p. 290.)

II.—Text.

ועתה אעתיק חסרון ההודאות והשירים. אשר היללו ושבחו שלשת הבחורים שמצא תודוס שאינו בכד ספרים: ודין הוא סידרא דיסדר בסידריה תודוס גבר חבים די פתר ביומוהי דקומודוס מלכא דרומאי דהא לא אישתכת בספרא דעבראי אילהין מן שבעים סבייא די פתרו סיפרא דאורייתא עם אלעזר כהנא רבא דאיתקטיל ביומוהי דאנטיוכום שחיק טמייא די פתרו כל אורייתא ביומוהי דתלמי מלכא דמצראי ואף גובריא אילין תרין די שמהתהון סימכוס ועקילם די פתרו ביומוהי דאדריינוס מלכא הוו מן פותרנייא ואקילס הוא אונקלוס: ודין הוא סידרא די לא כתיבא בסידרא דעיבראי דהא תודוס אשכחא: ואזלו תלתיהון לגו אתון נורא יקידתא משבחין ומברכין ית יי וקם עזריה לצלאה וצלי כדון ופתח פומיה ואמר: בריך הוא אלהא דאבהתנא ויהא שמיה משבח ומהדר בריך הוא אלהא דאבהתנא ויהא שמיה משבח ומהדר לעלמיי: דהא קשוט את בכל מה דעבדת לנא דכל ל

עובדך קשיטין ואורחתך יציבין וכל דיינך מהימנין: 4 ארי דין דקשוט עבדתא על כל די אייתיתת עלנא ועל קרתא ירושלם קדישתא די לאבהתנא דהא דינין קשיטין 5 אייתיתת עלנא בדיל חובנא: חבנא ועוינא ואעדנא 6 מינך. ושטנא מכל פקודייא די פקידתא לנא דלא קבילנא יתחון למיטר ולמיעבד בדיל דאוטיב לנא: ובדיל די 8 לא עבדנא פיקודייך וקיימך עבדת דין דקשוט: די מסרתא יתנא בידא דסנאין בישין ובידא דמלכין חייבין ובישין 9 בכל ארעתא: וכען לית אנן יכילנא למיפתח פומנא ים דהא לחיסודא הוו עבדך די דבקין בך: ובבעו מנך די לא תימסר יתנא לחלוטין בדיל שמך רבא וקדישא ולא תשכח שהידוותך: ולא תעדי טיבותך מיננא בדיל אברהם 12 רחימך ויצחק עבדך וישראל קדישך: די אמרת להון לאסגאה ית בניהון ככוכבי שמיא וכחלא דעל כיף ימא: ועד כאן עזרנא (זערנה וו.) יי מן כל עממיא דמסכינין אנחנא ו 14 בכל ארעתא יומא דין בדיל חובנא: ובעידנא הדין לית לן לא רב ונבייא ולא פחוותא וסיגנין ולא עלוון וניכסין ומנחתא דלית אתר לאיתאה כל אילין קדמך לאשכחא 15 רחמין: אילהין בנפשא נכאה ורוחה תבירא נתקבל 16 בעלוון וניכסין דיכרין ותורין וכאלפין אימרין פטימין: כדון יהא דיבחא דילנא יומא דין לרעוא מן קדמך דהא לא ו יתכלמון כל די מהודין לך: וכען בעין אנא בכל ליבנא 18 למדחל יתך: ונתבע מן קדמך די לא תתכלים יתנא 19 אילהין תעביד עימנא כרחמנותך ובסגי טיבותך: שיזיב יתנא והב יקרא לשמך יי ותיתכלם לכל דעבדין לעבדייא

דילך בישא: ויהון מתכלמין מכל גבורתהון ומתוקפהון 20 יהון תבירין. וידעין ארי את בלחודך שליט בכל ארעתא: בי 22 כען נסיבו עבדין דמלכא ושמשוהי די רמיו לתלתא גוברין באתונא נפטא וזיפתא ונעורת ועבדו גלילין. לאסגאה שלהובית דנור מעילוי אתונא ברום ארבעין 23 ותשע אמין: ונפק נורא ושלהוביתא ואוקיד יתהון עם 24 כל מאן די הוו קיימין מכשדאי בסטר אתונא: ומלאכא 25 דיי נחית עם עזריה וחברוהי באתונא ואיצטנין נורא באתונא: ועבד בגו אתונא כרוחא די מנשבא טלא ולא 26 קריב בהון כל נור ולא איתנזיקו מידעם: בכן איליין 27 תלתיהון בפומא חדא שבחו והודו ובריכו ית יי בגו אתונא יקידתא ואמרו: בריך יי אלהא דאבהתנא ויהא 28 משבח ומרומם לעלמי עלמייא: ובריך יהא שמך רבא 29 ויקירא וקדישא ומשבח ומרומם על כל עלמא: בריך 30 את בהיכלא קדישתך ותשתבה ותתייקר על כל עלמין: בריך את בכורסא יקר מלכותך ותשתבח ותתרומם לעלם זג ולעלמי עלמיא: בריך את דאישתקעתא תהומיא ויתיבתא 32 על כרובין ותהי משבח ומהדר בכל עלמין: בריך את 33 ברקיע שמיא ותתהלל ות(ש)תבח בעלמין: בריכו כל 34 עובדיא יי אלהין שבחוניה ורוממוהו יתיה בעלמא. בריכו מאלכיא יי אלהין הללוהו ורוממוהו בעלמא: 35 בריכו מיא די מעילוי שמיא אלהין הללוהו ורוממוהו 36 בעלמא: בריכו כל חילייא דיי אלהין חללוהו ורוממוהו 37 בעלמא: בריכו כוכבי שמייא אלהין הללוהו ורוממוהו 38 39 בעלמא: בריכו מיטרא וטלא אלהין הללוהו ורוממוהו ים בעלמא: בריכו כל רוחיא דיי אלהין שבחוהו ורוממוהו 🗝 41 בעלמא: בריכו אשא' ושרבא אלהין בריכו קריר וחמימא 42 אלהין הללו' ורומ' בעלמ': בריכו רעפיא וגירא אלהין 43 בריכו קרח וקברא אלהין הללו' ורומ' בעלמ': בריכו קיטורין ועננין אלחין ברי' לילוון ויממין אלחין הל' ורו' 44 בעל": בריכו נהורא וחשוכא אלהין ברי קבלא ועמיטתא 45 אלהין הללו' ורו' בעלמ': ברי' ארעתא אלהין 46 בריכו טוריא ורמתא אלהין הללו' ורומ' בעלמ': ברי' כל צימחי ארעא אלהין בריכו מבועיא אלהין הללו' ורומ' ים בריבו ימייא ונהריא אלהין ברי' נוניא וכל די 47 48 רחיש במיא אלהין הללו' ורומ' בעלמ': ברי' כל ציפרי שמיא אלהין בריכו כל חיותא ובעירא אלהין הללו' ישר׳ בעלמ': ברי' כל בני אינשא אלהין בריך ישר׳ סל אלהין הללו' ורומ' בעלמ': ברי' כהניא דיי אלהין הללו' זורומ' בעלמ': ברי' רוחין ונשמי צדיקיא אלהין בריכו 52 קדישין וענוי לבב אלהין הללו' ורו' בעלמ': בריכו חנניה עזריא ומישאל אלהין הללו' ורוממו' בעלמא דהא שיזבנא משאול ופריק יתנא מידא דמותא דהא שיזבנא מן אתון 53 נורא יקידתא ומנור דליק ושלהובין יציל יתנא: הודון קדם יי ארי טב דהא לעלמיא טיבותיא ובריכו למרי עלמא הוא אלהין הללוהו ורוממוהו בעלמא: עד כה סופא דמלתא. די לא כתיבתא בספר יהודייתא: [מבאן ואילך העתיק ירחמאל מתודום ויוסיפון בישראל :1

יאיטתא, probably אתיטא.

והא באתרא ההוא תנין רב וסגיא דהוו פלחין ליה

בל בני בבל: ואמר מלכא לדניאל הא כען לא תיכול ² למימר דהאדין לית אלהא חייא הוא וכען צלי כען

קדמוהי: ואשיב דניאל למלכא ואמר מן קדם יי אלהא 3

דאבהתיי אנא מצלי דהא אלהא חייא רבא ודחילו: ואם + את מלכא תתיהב לי רשותא איקטל ית תנינא הדין

בלא הרבא והניתא: ואמר מלכא לדניאל הא כען אגא ב

יהיב לך רשותא למיעבד ליה כל רעותך: ואזל דניאל 6 ונסיב ליה זפתא ושמנוניתא וכיתן ושערין ויגלול יתהון לגליל חד ועבד ליה מסריקא דברזלא ויגלול ית כל דין

סחור סחור למסריקא ורמהי בפומי דתנינא: והוה כד קבלע יתיה תנינא ונחית בגופיה ופשר שמנוניתא וזפתא מעילוי מסריקא וחביל תנינא משיני מסריקא וימות ואמר

דניאל הא כען אלהכון דהויתון פלחין קדמוהי: והוה 8 כד שמעו בני בבל דהא מית תנינא ותקיף להון לחדא וכנשו ועלו קדם מלכא ואמרו למימר הא כען אנחנא ירעין דאת הוא כחדא מן גברין יהודאין דהא בל חבילתא ואף ית תנינא קמלתא וכהני בל עם הוִכליה תברתא:

וכען אם לא תימסר ית דניאל בידנא ניקטול יתך 9 בביתך: וחזא מלכא דהא תקוף להון לחדא דבעו 10

בביתך: וחזא מלכא דהא תקיף להון לחדא דבעו 10 למקטליה ומסר להון ית דניאל: ושויאו ית דניאל בגו 11

בירא דאריוותא והוה תמן שבעה יומין: ארי בירא הוה 21 באתרא ההוא די ביה שבעא אריוון והוו יהבין ליה כל יומא תרין פגרי אינשין ותרין אען וההוא יומא לא איתיהיבו להון בדיל די יכלון ית דניאל: והוה חבקוק 13

איתידים לחק בדיל די יכלון ית דניאל: והוה חבקוק 13 נבייא בארעא דישר' והוה מבשל תבשילא למיכל

לחצרייא ושוי לחמא בשקיה ואזל למיתי לחצרייא 11 בחקלא: והא מלאכא דיי ואמר לחבקוק נבייא למימר זיל ואייתי כען ית תבשילא הדין דבשילתא בבבל קרתא בו והב ליה לדניאל דהוא בגוב אריוותא: ועני חבקוק ואמר למלאנא ריבוני הא לא חזיתי בבל קרתא מדאיתי ואף גוף [גוב 1] אריוותא לא ידעית: ונסיב מלאכא דיי בקדליה ונטליה בצוציתא דרישיה ושוי יתיה עם מיכלא 17 די בידיה על פום גוב אריוותא די בכבל: והוה כד תב רוחיה לוותיה וקרא חבקוק לדניאל ואמר טול כען מזונא ואמר יי שדר לך אלהך: ושבח וצלי דניאל ואמר יי נא אלהין דאת דכיר יתי די לא שבקתא כל דרחימין לך: 19 וקם דניאל ואכל ומלאכא דיי אתיב ית חבקוק לאתריה בשעתא חדא: והוה ביומא שביעאה וקם מלכא ואזל 20 לגוב אריוותא למיחזי ית דניאל וחזא ית דניאל יתיב בגובא: וקרא מלכא בקול רם וסגיא ואמר יי אלהיה 22 דדניאל רבה הוא ויקירא: ופקיד מלכא לאסקא לדניאל מן גוב אריוותא ואינון גוברין די אכלו קורציה דדניאל אמר מלכא למירמי תמן ורמו יתהון בגוב אריוותא ואכלו יתהון בפריע:



The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be holden at 37, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., on Tuesday, the 8th January, 1895.

The ordinary business of the Anniversary Meeting will be transacted.

The following Paper will be read:---

REV. G. MARGOLIOUTH: "On the meaning of the Divine Name Yahveh."



ERRATA.

Proceedings, November, 1894.

On cover, for Chapters XCIX—CVIII, read XCIX—CVII; p. 273, for Chapter CVIII, read Chapter CVII.







